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CONTENTS.

PAGE

EDITORIALS 189-191

The Alaska Boundary Decision — The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress.

EDITORIAL NOTES 191-193

International Peace Bureau — War and Lawlessness — Venezuelan Case at the Hague — Equity the Supreme Arbiter — Thanks the Prime Minister — Fighting Spirit Impossible — Minnesota Peace Society. — The Next Peace Congress.

NOTES ON THE PEACE CONGRESS 193-194

BREVITIES 194

GENERAL ARTICLES:

A Regular Advisory Congress. *Benjamin F. Trueblood* 194-197
Opening Address of Edward Spalikowski, President of the Committee on Organization of the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress 197-198
The Anglo French Arbitration Treaty. *M. d'Estournelles de Constant* 198-199
The Vienna Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Peace Union. 199-200
The Proceedings of the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress 200-207
The Twenty-first Conference of the International Law Association 207-209
A New Sermon. *Poem, by J. A. Edgerton* 209

The Alaska Boundary Decision.

The Commission appointed by our government and that of Great Britain to adjust the question of the Alaska boundary finished their labors and gave their award on the 20th ult. The decision supports practically the entire United States claim. Canada is given the Portland Channel and two of the islands located in it. The other two islands, lying nearer the mouth and closer to the land on the north side, are awarded to the United States. But this part of the award does not materially affect its general establishment of the United States contention. The Portland Channel is at the extreme southern part of the disputed strip, and as Canada already had the right to one half of it, she really gains nothing of value by the concession of the other half and of the two islands.

The award was signed by four of the six Commissioners, and thus becomes final. Sir Louis Jetté and Mr. A. B. Aylesworth, the two Canadians on the Commission, declined to sign the agreement, and, according to press reports, left the room with considerable show of displeasure. Lord Chief Justice Alverstone, the other member for Great Britain, after a thorough examination of the case from the judicial point of view, as he declares, was convinced of the justice of the United States position, and voted with the American commissioners. And thus the famous controversy is ended, as we confidently expected it would be ended by this Commission, in spite of its unfortunate constitution with three judges on a side.

The decision has occasioned a good deal of dissatisfaction and reprobation in Canada, which we very much regret. We can well understand and sympathize with the serious disappointment of the government and people at a decision which takes from them all hope of direct access to the sea from one-third of the western frontier of their territory. But for the language used by some of the officials and the two Canadian commissioners it is hard to find any justification. The two commissioners, in accepting their appointment, as did the government in naming them, virtually bound themselves in honor to accept in good part whatever judgment might be reached, even if they could not conscientiously sign it. Their charge that Great Britain, through Lord Alverstone, has deliberately sacrificed Canadian interests for the sake of American friendship, is a very grave one for men of such intelligence and standing to make, and one which responsible men rarely ever make without clear and substantial reasons. So is the reported fling of the Canadian Prime Minister, that he regretted that Canada lay alongside the powerful, grasping country on her southern border. This is virtually to charge that either Lord Alverstone had been bullied by the United States into his decision, or corrupted. Such utterances, even though made rashly in moments of passion, are immensely mischievous, for they are not soon forgotten and rankle in the hearts of those against whom they are uttered. They ought never to be indulged in by responsible men on either side of a frontier.

We have no doubt that, so far as regards their attitude toward the United States, the award will be loyally accepted by the Canadian people generally. What effect it may have upon the relations of Canada to Great Britain — for the moment seemingly the most serious aspect of the situation — it is not in place here to discuss. We may be permitted to say, however, that if Canada ever should separate from the mother country, it would be most unfortunate in every way for her to break away in a fit of unreasoning displeasure over some event like this, thus creating a new current of international prejudice and ani-

mosity to trouble the two countries in the subsequent years.

We have always believed that this controversy ought to have gone to the Hague Court. The more certain we were of our case, the more ready we ought to have been to have it go to an impartial tribunal. Theoretically the boundary had been fixed by the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825. But neither had the boundary ever been actually drawn in some parts since we came into possession of the territory in 1867, nor had the treaty of 1825 ever been judicially interpreted. Both the interpretation of the treaty and the fixing of the boundary were proper subjects for determination by a disinterested tribunal. If the decision just made had been that of a disinterested tribunal instead of a mixed partisan commission, it would, judging from the course of Lord Alverstone, the only really judicial member of the Commission, have been quite probably unanimous. In that case, no such outbreak of insinuations and reproaches as we have witnessed on the part of Canada would have occurred. This Commission may have been the best thing possible at the time, but the better course ought hereafter always to be followed by our government.

All well informed persons will readily admit the awkwardness and unnaturalness of the frontier of Canada bordering on this southward projecting handle of Alaska. No such arrangement of territory would be thought of in our time. Naturally the Canadian territory should extend down to the sea throughout the whole region. We, the United States, would think so,— and that vigorously,— if we were Canada. But this narrow strip of land, which averages only about one hundred miles in width, and is much narrower in places, shuts her off from the sea for six hundred miles up and down the coast. When the treaty of 1825 was drawn, little was known about the region, and Great Britain cared nothing for it. Now it is easy to see that the strip of land, which can never be of large worth to the United States, would be of very great value to Canada as a commercial outlet for an immense territory lying back of it and capable no doubt of large future development.

What, now, is the duty of the United States in view of the whole situation? It is difficult to see what possible detriment could come to our country, with its enormous areas of valuable territory, if it should give up the whole strip, gold, furs, fish and all. It might easily prove much more valuable to us in the hands of Canada than in our own. But this surrender of it is of course not now possible because of our present national sensitiveness to the enticements of bigness, and possibly also because of certain obligations of the nation to its scattered citizens in those parts. In a better time than ours, such an act of generosity on the part of a nation will be considered in no wise out of the ordinary. We must wait, however, a little for that time.

But though the gift of the strip of territory cannot, under present conditions, be made to our neighbor people, there is nothing to prevent an arrangement by which Canada can have practically free access to the Pacific by way of the Lynn Channel — which she much desires — or any other route which her commerce may require. Such an arrangement would have, we are sure, the hearty approval of practically the entire people of the United States, and we hope that the government will lose no time in letting Canada know that we are ready to move in that direction, if it would be agreeable to her. The people of Canada and the United States are neighors whose interests are closely allied, and all grounds of misunderstanding and ill feeling ought to be got out and kept out of the way.

The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress.

It is not easy to convey to those who were not present the general spirit and character of a congress. One peace congress, in the subjects which it discusses and in the atmosphere pervading it, is very much like every other. Each one, however, has features which distinguish it from others. This was true of the Congress recently held at Rouen, France, of whose proceedings we give an extended account elsewhere in this issue.

In the first place, the Congress was, in spite of the difficulties arising from diversity of language and of nationality, one of the most coherent in spirit and workings ever held. The nearly five hundred men and women that came together and deliberated for almost a week on a great number of questions seemed to have forgotten that such things as national boundaries exist. They felt and acted as if they and the peoples whom they represented were one family and had a common enemy whom it was imperative to get out of the way. There were differences of opinion, but also a remarkable spirit of considerateness and concession. There was but one serious conflict of judgment, that on the propriety of the Congress taking up the subject of legitimate self-defense and attempting to define its proper application. In this there was perfect frankness of speech, but also, seemingly, perfect respect for the views of others; and when the question was disposed of, by passing it on to a future European congress, nobody was sore.

The Congress was remarkable also for the ability and intelligence shown in the reports made from the committees and in the discussions upon them. Some of the speeches made by the committee reporters would have been a credit to any deliberative assembly, and we have rarely ever listened to an abler and better sustained discussion than the one on disarmament, to which an entire half day was devoted. The intelligence shown in the deliberations was due in part, of course, to the presence of so large a number of the experienced workers in the cause and to the

maturing of the subject during the years since the first congress of the series was held at Paris in 1889; but the speaking by some of the new members whom we have never before seen in a congress was exceptionally good.

The Congress was also unusually practical. There were some academic resolutions, of course; perhaps some of no great importance, which might as well have been omitted. But most of the propositions voted concerned pressing questions of the day, and provision was made that the views of the Congress should be communicated to the responsible governments. On the subject of a truce and reduction of armaments, which was felt by all to be the most urgent question of present international politics, the government of the French Republic, under whose favor the Congress was held, was invited to take immediate steps to bring the governments of the civilized world to an agreement for general and simultaneous reduction of armaments. The same practical course was taken also in regard to the Macedonian and other similar questions. Strong emphasis was laid on the importance of bringing the Hague Court into early general use, and the necessity of strengthening the Hague Convention by the negotiation of general treaties of obligatory arbitration between state and state.

There was also manifested in the Congress a remarkable conviction of the conquering power of moral forces, a confidence of large coming success, a faith in the supremacy of justice and brotherhood and the certainty of their triumph, a courage and fearlessness, never before so largely developed in conventions of peace workers. The attitude of timidity, hopelessness and half-heartedness often observed in portions of such gatherings was entirely wanting. This was the most impressive feature of the Congress, and it revealed the fact that the immense gain which the cause has made within a few years was vividly present to the consciousness of all, inspiring them with a great hope for the future and fresh courage to press the contest against the iniquitous and ruinous system of war to its speedy and complete destruction.

Taking it all in all, the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress was more than a success in itself; it was a revelation of the felt greatness and growing power of the new spirit of justice, of love and fellowship, of coöperation and concord, which is fast mastering the world and is destined soon to make it impossible for nations to think of each other as enemies and to arm themselves for each other's destruction.

Peace Sunday this year falls on the 20th of December. Let all ministers of the gospel everywhere bear it in mind, and prepare to give proper recognition on that day to the great principles of brotherhood and peace, which constitute so essential a part of the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Editorial Notes.

International Peace Bureau.

The Permanent International Peace Bureau, whose office is at Berne, held its annual meeting at Rouen on Wednesday, September 23, at 11 o'clock. In the absence of the president, Fredrik Bajer of Denmark, the Baroness von Suttner was chosen president of the meeting. The report of the treasurer was presented, audited, and approved. It showed that the Bureau has received and spent during the year about eight thousand francs. The report of the secretary, Mr. Elie Ducommun, showed that the Bureau had done a year of excellent service in executing the resolutions of the previous Congress, in keeping the peace societies in touch with one another through the medium of the *Correspondance Bimensuelle*, and in communicating with the governments in times of crisis. The following persons were chosen members of the Commission of the Bureau for the coming year: Fredrik Bajer, Denmark; the Baroness von Suttner, Austria; Elie Ducommun, Switzerland; Henri Morel, Switzerland; Dr. Ludwig Stein, Switzerland; Emile Arnaud, France; Count Bothmer, Germany; Dr. Baart de la Faille, Netherlands; Dr. W. E. Darby, Great Britain; Nicolas Fleva, Roumania; Dr. Giretti, Italy; H. Horst, Norway; Mr. Kemény, Hungary; H. La Fontaine, Belgium; Magalhaës Lima, Portugal; Belva Lockwood, United States; E. T. Moneta, Italy; Gaston Moch, France; J. Novicow, Russia; Frédéric Passy, France; Hodgson Pratt, Great Britain; Dr. Adolf Richter, Germany; Miss Ellen Robinson, Great Britain; Benjamin F. Trueblood, United States; Edward Wawrinsky, Sweden; Professor Quidde, Germany.

War and Lawlessness.

It has been observed from time immemorial that a period of increased lawlessness and crime always follows in the wake of a war. The *New Age* writes as follows of the evil results left by the recent war in South Africa:

One of the effects of the war in South Africa has been to turn what was previously one of the most law-abiding communities in the world into a country infested with thieves and vagabonds. In Cape Colony, not so long ago, crime, except in the larger towns, was generally confined to the worst section of the natives. Dutch and English alike required little or no supervision on the part of the police. Now all is changed. A recent debate in the Cape Assembly showed that the expenditure on police had doubled since 1900, but that crime had increased to a still greater extent. Mr. Stead, a Progressive member, told the Assembly "that owing to the war there were spread throughout the country a large number of undesirable people. A large amount of the crime committed in the large cities was the result of the war, owing to which a great number of bad characters had

accumulated in the large cities. Mr. Walton, another Progressive, said that in his town, Port Elizabeth, crime was now so bad that a woman or child could not walk along the streets at night time in safety. Another member added that in the suburbs of Cape Town a child could hardly go out without protection. The Colony has just been stirred from end to end by a fearful veld tragedy, recalling the Kaffir wars, and such as was never even imagined during the late rebellion. A Cape Town paper, in detailing its ghastly horrors, remarks significantly that it bears a suspicious resemblance to some of the crimes committed in the Australian bush. This is rough on Australia, but the *Sydney Bulletin* itself remarked, in connection with the later contingents of the Australians, that the Queensland Police were being congratulated on having got rid of a good many of such people. It is curious that among the Cape Dutch there is no sign of increased lawlessness since the war. The twelve thousand rebels have settled down as quietly as before, thus showing that they took up arms from principle and not because of the "criminal" or "riff-raff" instincts. It looks as though the balance of criminals, if not of criminality, were on our side. On the whole, Cape Colony has little reason to be thankful to any one for the gift of the war. Everything is worse than before. Population has increased, but it is at best a dropsical increase.

Venezuelan Case at The Hague.

The opening of the Venezuelan case at The Hague on October 1, as described by Solicitor Penfield in the *Independent* of October 29, was full of interest. Many of the diplomatic representatives of the arbitrating States were present. The tribunal selected by the Czar from the Permanent Court consisted of Count Mouravieff, Russian Minister of Justice; Frederick de Martens, member of the Council of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the most eminent living international jurist and arbitrator; and Prof. Henry Lammasch of the Austrian Parliament. Eleven nations appeared as parties to the controversy: Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Venezuela, Mexico and the United States. Three of these, Great Britain, Germany and Italy, appeared in order to establish their right of preferential treatment by Venezuela in the payment of her creditors, because they had undertaken to collect their debts by force. The other eight came before the Court with the opposite contention. Eighteen distinguished lawyers — eight for the belligerent and ten for the pacific powers — were present to plead before the tribunal, before which the majority of the powers represented in the Hague Court were appearing. All these circumstances made the occasion one of the most impressive imaginable. Mr. Penfield says that the opening session was not marked by any extraordinary display, but that all present felt a deep interest in what was about to take place, "the atmosphere of the Court being charged with the feeling of the high character it has to sustain and the grave issues it has to decide." The issue of the trial will, as Mr. Penfield declares, "exert an important influence on international relations, and will be awaited with the greatest interest." The opening remarks of Count Mouravieff, who was chosen president of the tribunal, were conceived in such an elevated spirit that we quote them in full, as given by Mr. Penfield.

Equity, the Supreme Arbiter.

The president of the tribunal, Count Mouravieff, in opening the proceedings, said:

"It seems almost superfluous at this solemn moment to draw the attention of this illustrious assembly to the deep significance of this new manifestation of the world's judicial action, which has become permanent and regular since the nations of the civilized world, in promulgating the Hague Convention, have proclaimed equity as the supreme ideal arbiter of their differences, if not of their destinies. And what more, indeed, could one add to this superb evidence, that we note with profound satisfaction the daily increasing sympathies of entire peoples and of the elite of human societies with the generous thought of international arbitration — that faithful organ and mighty rampart of peace; that we are happy to have been selected to take another step forward in the progressive march of this pregnant and living principle over a thorny and newly-made way, in spite of the numerous obstacles scattered in its path. Nevertheless I should reproach myself were I to pass over in silence the peculiarly lofty significance of the present assembly. In the order of time it is the second one held under the Convention of July 28, 1899, but it is the first one which owes its creation to the assent and participation of the majority of the European powers, in general so slow to depart from ancient practice and traditional procedure. And that which displays and accentuates the exceptional importance of our arbitral mission is that for the first time it appears to-day in its most sublime perfection, in its most salutary application, that of checking and curbing the sanguinary calamities of war. Let us never forget it. The rumbling of cannon on the shores of a small and distant country was replaced by the pacific voice of the jurist; violence yielded and bowed — may she always do so! — before the law."

Thanks the Prime Minister.

The executive committee of the Peace Society, London, has sent the following expression of congratulation to the British Premier for his action in the negotiation of the Anglo-French Arbitration treaty:

"The committee of the Peace Society respectfully congratulate His Majesty's government on the conclusion of the treaty between England and France which has just been announced.

"They rejoice in this action because, by expressly confirming the engagements entered into in The Hague Convention of 1899, the treaty helps to secure the future activity and usefulness of the Court of International Arbitration established at The Hague.

"They also rejoice because it is a further step in the

direction in which the Peace Society has been working for nearly a century; and because they believe that it is by such agreements, providing for the settlement of possible differences, and promoting mutual confidence and coöperation, rather than by measures and acts of retaliation and reprisal, that the permanent peace and prosperity of nations are secured."

Fighting Spirit Impossible.

Canon Barnet of London has given a good lead to Christian ministers everywhere, and we hope many of them will follow his example as the Christmas season comes on. He recently, as reported by the *Westminster Gazette*, gave utterance in St. Paul's Cathedral to the following sentiments:

"Canon Barnett, preaching at St. Paul's Cathedral last night, reflected on the way in which many human relations had come to be expressed in war terms. There was strife between labor and capital, a big fight for the schools, a tariff war, a struggle for supremacy. It was the noise of our own internal battles which drowned the cries from the Balkans. He urged that the fighting spirit was impossible to any one who accepted the gospel teaching that power is on the side of love and gentleness. It was not for a preacher of Christianity to take sides in any conflict, but he was bound to condemn everywhere aggressiveness — the spirit of arrogance and intolerance, the suspicion of others' motives, the greed of others' gain, and the desire for mastery. He concluded a powerful discourse by asking the great congregation before him how any one of them could dare to call Christ his Lord and Master and then act aggressively, adopt the fighting spirit, refuse His way as impracticable, His policy of giving good for evil as a policy fit for slaves, and His hope of peace on earth as stuff for dreamers."

Minnesota Peace Society.

On Thursday evening, October 22, a peace society for the State of Minnesota was organized in the Friends' Church, Minneapolis. R. J. Mendenhall, the well-known florist of the city, was elected president. Miss A. B. Albertson was chosen secretary, and a number of vice-presidents were appointed, among whom were Rev. W. B. Riley, Dr. A. H. Lindley, Dr. G. G. Eitel, Professor Maria Sanford, Rev. James Wallace, Rabbi Isaac L. Rypins, Mrs. Linton J. Bacchus, Rev. Father Martin Mahony and Rev. Martin D. Hardin. Rev. John S. Merrick, who is doing work for the American Peace Society in Minneapolis, R. J. Mendenhall, Professor Maria Sanford and others made addresses. Mr. Merrick explained that the work of the American Peace Society and kindred organizations is one which is directed toward the bringing about of a united humanity, and is not in the interests of any denominational belief. Professor Sanford argued that if the Christian churches had done their duty the recent wars might have been avoided. So far as we know, this is the first general peace society that has ever been organized in Minnesota. We hope it may have a long, active and successful career. There was never a time when peace work, if done energetically and intelligently, counted for so much as at the present time. The next meeting of the new Minnesota Peace Society will be held in St. Paul in December.

The Next Peace Congress.

By reference to the proceedings of the Rouen Peace Congress, page 206, it will be seen that, on the invitation of the American delegates, supported by more than fifty eminent men and women of the nation, the Congress voted unanimously and enthusiastically to hold its meeting next year in this country. The Congress will probably be held late in September or the early part of October. The date and the place will be determined after careful consultation among those interested in the matter, including the directors of the St. Louis Exposition. A number of reasons would suggest St. Louis as the proper city, on account of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition which will be going on there. On the other hand, St. Louis is so far from the Atlantic coast that many of those in Europe who would like to come have expressed their preference that the meeting should be held in one of the Atlantic seaboard cities. The active constituency of the peace movement is also greater in the East than elsewhere, and a much larger attendance at the Congress might be expected in Boston or New York than in St. Louis. The whole matter will be carefully canvassed, and then as early as possible the preparation for the Congress will be begun.

Notes on the Peace Congress.

The American Peace Society had six delegates at the Congress, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Professor J. C. Bracq of Vassar College, Mrs. Annie L. Diggs of Topeka, Kan., Benjamin F. Trueblood and Miss Lyra D. Trueblood. The Universal Peace Union of Philadelphia was represented by Rev. and Mrs. Matthew Anderson, the National Arbitration Association of Washington by Mr. Wm. Blymyer, and the National Council of Women by Countess Cora di Brazza.

At the great public meeting of the Congress held in Havre, Sunday afternoon, September 27, Mr. Trouillot, Minister of Commerce, declared that France was proud to be at the head of the peace movement, and he hoped that the time was coming when the huge sums devoted to keeping up armies would be utilized for the benefit of humanity.

One of the most encouraging things connected with the Congress was the evidence which it gave of the great accession of strength to the peace movement from the side of organized labor — an accomplishment for which Mr. Hodgson Pratt and other leaders had labored for several years.

Mrs. Henry Richard, widow of the distinguished British apostle of peace of the last generation, was in attendance daily at the sessions of the Congress, and followed the proceedings with an interest and devotion which younger persons might well have envied. Her presence was a continual inspiration to the Congress.

Among the German delegation to the Congress was Otto Umfrid, the distinguished city preacher of Stuttgart, who has filled all that part of Germany with knowledge of the principles and purposes of the peace movement. It was the first time we have seen him in a peace congress.

The press was unusually well represented at the Congress, and the papers of Rouen gave daily a large amount of space to reports of the proceedings. A number of the dailies of Paris also had accounts of the deliberations.

Brevities.

. . . The artist Doche is painting a picture of the Peace Conference at The Hague. The canvas is an immense one, the figure of each delegate being life size. The painting is being done for the Netherlands government, and when finished is to be copied in Gobelin tapestry for the state.

. . . "Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable," by Ernest Howard Crosby, which is full of peace ideas, is issued in a paper edition at one shilling per copy by Francis Riddell Henderson, 26 Paternoster Square, London. The Comrade Coöperative Company, 11 Cooper Square, New York, have imported a part of this (third) edition and will be glad to supply any who may wish copies.

. . . The United States is represented among the counsel which are arguing the Venezuelan preferential treatment case at The Hague by William L. Penfield, Solicitor of the State Department, Hon. Wayne MacVeagh and Herbert W. Bowen, Minister to Venezuela.

. . . The estimates for the War Department for the next fiscal year amount to about $78,000,000, a slight increase over last year. The Navy Department will ask for about $103,000,000, which is several millions more than was called for last year.

. . . Dr. Thomas Barclay, who did so much to promote public opinion in Great Britain and France in favor of a treaty of arbitration between those countries, has been visiting in this country with the Mosely Commission. He addressed the faculty and students of Yale University on October 27, on the subject of a general arbitration treaty between Great Britain and the United States.

. . . The British Ambassador at Madrid, Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, has been appointed by King Edward as Ambassador to this country, to succeed the late Sir Michael Henry Herbert. We welcome him, and hope he may prove to be as full of peace and goodwill as the two ambassadors who preceded him.

. . . Edwin D. Mead read a valuable paper on "The World's Debt to Holland in the Cause of Peace" before the International Council of Unitarian and other Liberal Religious Thinkers, recently held at Amsterdam, Holland. The substance of the paper was printed in "The Unitarian World" (5 Essex Street, Strand, London, W. C.) for October.

. . . International Arbitration was one of the subjects discussed at the recent meeting of the National Civic Federation in Chicago.

A Regular International Advisory Congress.*

BY BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

It was not until comparatively recently that writers on the subject began to take account of international congresses and conferences as sources of international law. Our distinguished American authority, Henry Wheaton, does not, even in the last edition of his work, mention them among the sources. This is true of all the writers of forty years and more ago.

But so rapidly have these congresses and conferences developed in frequency and importance during the last generation that they have begun to force themselves upon the attention of international law writers, though as yet they have received but scant notice. One of our latest American writers, Mr. Hannis Taylor, in his extended treatise on public international law, published only two years ago, catalogues five sources, and places congresses and conferences in the first category, along with arbitration tribunals, etc. It is almost certain that every future writer will closely follow his example.

There is nothing more significant in the recent history of international relations than these gatherings of the official representatives of governments, whether they be considered from the point of view of their personnel, their number and frequency, the ends for which they have been assembled, or the wide and increasing influence which they have exercised upon the attitude of the nations towards each other, and in the extension of the reign of law among them. It is a bit curious, therefore, that so little attention has been given to them, to the grounds of their existence, and their bearing on the present and future development of civilization in its larger world-aspects. They have not even been catalogued, much less studied and interpreted.

I have made and have here a list of the more important of these meetings since 1815, to the number of thirty-three.† The number is actually considerably

*A paper read at the Twenty-first Conference of the International Law Association, Antwerp, Belgium, September 30.

† LIST OF INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES AND CONFERENCES.

1815. The Congress of Vienna, which adjusted the questions left by the Napoleonic campaigns.
1822. The Congress of Verona, for the promotion of the purposes of the Holy Alliance.
1825. The Conference of St. Petersburg, which prepared the way for the independence of Greece.
1831. The Conference of London, which made Holland and Belgium independent nations.
1856. The Congress of Paris, which disposed of the questions entailed by the Crimean War.
1864. The Geneva Congress, which established the International Red Cross Society.
1867. The Conference of London, which neutralized the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg.
1868. The Congress of St. Petersburg, which provided for the restriction of the use of certain types of bullets.
1871. The Conference of London, which modified the Paris Treaty of 1856.
1874. The Congress of Brussels, which prepared a restatement and improvement of the laws of war.
1874. The First International Postal Congress, held at Berne, which organized the Universal Postal Union.
1875. The Metrical Diplomatic Congress at Paris, which prepared the International Metric Convention, and provided for the meeting of a general Conference on Weights and Measures at Paris, at least once every six years.

greater than this, if one reckon in certain smaller congresses of considerable importance, and the periodic meetings of those which have become established institutions for the promotion of single ends, as the congresses of the Universal Postal Union and those on Weights and Measures.

Of the thirty-three which I have listed, only six occurred in the fifty years from 1815 to 1865. All of these were for political ends, except the Geneva Red Cross Congress of 1864; though the Congress of Paris in 1856 went considerably outside of the purely political sphere and dealt with questions of permanent general international interest. Seven of the thirty-three were held during the next decade, from 1865 to 1875. Only two of these were strictly political, the others dealing with the restriction of certain types of bullets, with the laws of war, the postal service, weights and measures, and telegraphic communication. The remaining twenty have been held within the last twenty years, an average of one a year for the whole period. Of these twenty only two, the Congress of Berlin in 1878 and the Berlin West African Congress of 1884, were strictly political. The other eighteen, and all of the congresses which I have not included in the list, have dealt for the most part with the large permanent interests of the nations in their relations with one another, — with money, commerce, slavery, navigation, sanitation, quarantine, penology, the postal service, arbitration, the laws and customs of war on land and sea, industrial property, sugar bounties, private international law, intercommunication, etc.

1875. The International Telegraphic Conference at St. Petersburg.
1877. The Conference of Constantinople, in the interests of the rights of the Porte's Christian subjects.
1878. The Congress of Berlin, which modified the treaty of San Stefano after the Russo-Turkish War, and rearranged the map of Eastern Europe.
1878. International Monetary Conference at Paris, invited by the United States.
1881. International Monetary Conference at Paris, invited by the United States and France.
1884. The Berlin West African Congress, which set up the Congo Free State.
1885. International Prime Meridian Conference at Washington, invited by the United States and attended by representatives from twenty-six nations.
1889. The Marine Conference of Washington.
1889. The first Pan-American Conference at Washington.
1890. The Brussels Anti-Slavery Conference.
1892. International Sanitary Conference at Venice, the protocol drawn by which was signed by the delegates of fifteen nations.
1892. Brussels International Monetary Conference, in which twenty nations were represented; called by the United States under an act of Congress.
1893. International Sanitary Conference at Dresden, in which nineteen nations were represented.
1893. Hague Conference on Code of Private International Law, in which thirteen powers were represented. Similar Conferences were held at The Hague in 1894 and 1900, under the auspices of the Netherlands government.
1896. The Universal Postal Congress held at Washington and attended by representatives from every nation on the globe.
1899. The Hague Peace Conference, which provided for the organization of the Permanent International Court of Arbitration.
1901. The Brussels Sugar Congress, which provided for the abolition of sugar bounties.
1901. The second Pan-American Conference, held in Mexico City.
1902. Ostend Congress of Commerce and Industry, under the auspices of Belgium.

Several important facts will be noticed in the study of these congresses: First, the political element has largely disappeared from them, their work in recent years being practically wholly concerned with important humanitarian interests. In the second place, they have become more and more legislative or quasi-legislative, treaties and conventions being based with increasing frequency on their labors. In the third place, they have increased rapidly in frequency and in the number of nations represented in them. Scarcely a year passes now without an official international congress or conference, and not infrequently two are called within the same twelve month. In the congresses of the International Postal Union, the next one of which is to be held at Rome in 1904, all the organized governments of the world are now represented. In several of the others which have been held, nearly all of the important powers of the world have taken part.

The chief point of interest, however, in the congresses is the conditions which have given rise to them. In general terms, the cause lying behind them may be stated to be the increasingly numerous, close and intricate relations of the nations with one another — relations economic, commercial, industrial, scientific, social, religious, educational, philanthropic, etc. The connections and dealings of the nations with one another, formal and informal, which recent inventions and discoveries have brought about, now constitute a mass so great and so intertwined that it is nearly impossible for any one of us, by any symbols whatever, to give himself any adequate conception of them. The problems growing out of these multiplied relations have become so numerous, so large and far reaching in their bearings, that the governments can deal with them directly only in a very inadequate way; in fact, with only a few of them at all. They have found themselves compelled to invite the meeting of capable representatives from the various interested nations, who could take the questions in hand, sit down with them, and give them adequate consideration. Necessity has not, however, constituted the whole cause. A part of the *motif* of these assemblies — and not the least worthy part — has been the growing interest of the peoples in each other, their increasing regard for justice and fairness, their deepening desire to promote everywhere the welfare of men as men.

In the present condition of the world all these causes are sure to work with greater force and continuity in the immediate future than they have done in the past, and international assemblies with at least powers of deliberation and recommendation are sure to be hereafter in some form a part of the normal order in international affairs.

In view of this fact the question naturally arises whether the time has not come when the nations — the important powers of the world at least — should proceed to establish by joint action something more definite and orderly than these irregular assemblies called from time to time on the initiative of single governments and, though doing their work with considerable measure of success, still lacking the advantages which permanence and regularity give.

It will be generally conceded, without doubt, that in the growing *rapprochement* and unity of the different parts of the world the logical outcome of the numerous

congresses and conferences which have been held will in time be a regularly organized congress of some type, meeting at stated intervals and composed of delegates from practically all the governments of the world. The time may yet be a good way off, notwithstanding the rapid movement of events in these days, when an international assembly with legislative functions can be organized, though the idea of such a parliament has been gaining ground ever since the days of Kant. But is not the time at hand, in the swift progress of events, when the large and numerous common interests of the peoples demand the creation of an international body such as is here suggested — a stated congress of governmental representatives of high character and ability who shall study, systematically and thoroughly, and make recommendations to the governments upon the weighty problems constantly arising in the international sphere? Such a congress, while crystallizing into regular form what has long been the practice of the governments, would not require the sacrifice of any of the sovereignty of the separate states, as it now exists. All the measures recommended would require ratification by the separate governments before becoming public law, as do those of the special congresses held.

It is anomalous certainly, in the history of judicial institutions, that a permanent court for the adjustment of international controversies has been established and inaugurated without the previous organization of any sort of lawmaking body. Logically the legislative organization, even if only an advisory one, ought to have come first. In the early days of the international peace movement, sixty years and more ago, the idea of a congress of nations always went along with that of a court of nations, as if the two institutions were the necessary complements of each other. Are they not indeed such? The *ad hoc* arbitrations of the past century, as they "grew and multiplied," led naturally and necessarily to the organization of the permanent court. The development of *ad hoc* congresses and conferences, beginning at the same period and running parallel with that of the arbitrations, has been, as indicated above, quite as rapid and remarkable. By every analogy they ought to eventuate in the same way, in a regular and permanent organization. The two series of events are, in fact, only parts of the same movement. The same spirit is behind them; the same public sentiment, producing and produced, has attended them; the same great ends of humanity are being attained through them.

The force of these considerations led last winter in Boston to a memorial to the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts asking that steps be taken by that body looking to the early creation of such a congress. Following the suggestion of the memorial a joint resolution * was passed by both Houses of the Massachusetts Legislature, and afterwards cordially endorsed by the Governor of the State,† asking the Congress of the United States to authorize the President to invite the governments of the world to unite in creating, in whatever way they may deem expedient, a stated international congress of the kind here suggested. This resolution, which has already received the support of many public men, will be presented to the Congress of the United States at its coming session. What reception it will meet with in the national legislature, it is not now possible to forecast.

Only two objections worthy of notice have been made to the proposition incorporated in the resolution of the Massachusetts Legislature. One of these is that the time is not ripe for such an international organization. The same thing was said by not a few distinguished men less than half a decade ago in regard to a permanent international tribunal of arbitration. In support of this objection, Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, the distinguished president of this Association three years ago, in an appreciative reference, in the *Yale Review* for May last, to the action of the Massachusetts Legislature, gives it as his opinion that a stated international congress will require the development of public law for a long period to prepare the way for it, and that it is much more likely, therefore, to meet with favor at the end of this century than at the present time. The argument seems to me to face exactly the other way. Public international law needs badly just such an organization for its regular and orderly development, and it is difficult to see how it can ever be redeemed satisfactorily from its vagueness, fragmentariness and contradictions, without the systematic work of a continuous body like that here proposed, which would be creative and not simply interpretative. For the rest, it should be remembered that the great movements of civilization are ripening with astonishing rapidity in these days, and that a twelvemonth now almost suffices to do the work of a century in the past.

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* COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

IN THE YEAR NINETEEN HUNDRED AND THREE.

RESOLUTIONS

RELATIVE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be requested to authorize the President of the United States to invite the governments of the world to join in establishing, in whatever way they may judge expedient, an international congress, to meet at stated periods, to deliberate upon questions of common interest to the nations and to make recommendations thereon to the governments.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent to the senior Senator and the senior Representative of Massachusetts in Congress, to be presented in the Senate and in the House of Representatives.

House of Representatives, February 19, 1903.

Adopted. Sent up for concurrence.

JAMES W. KIMBALL, *Clerk*.

Senate, February 25, 1903.

Adopted, in concurrence.

HENRY D. COOLIDGE, *Clerk*.

† COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
BOSTON, March 2, 1903.

HON. ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
President of the American Peace Society, Boston, Mass.

In reply to your favor of February 27, permit me to state that the Resolutions of the General Court of this Commonwealth, requesting Congress to authorize the President of the United States to invite the governments of the world to join in establishing a regular International Congress, have my most cordial endorsement.

The idea of a parliament of man, at first considered visionary, is becoming accepted in this swift moving age as something not only possible of attainment, but, on the contrary, as quite probable in the future. Every effort to this end is in the interest of progressive civilization and of humanity.

Permit me to congratulate the American Peace Society on its persistent efforts to this end, and believe me,

Yours sincerely, JOHN L. BATES.

The other objection is that a regular congress meeting at stated periods would not be as useful as special congresses called for specific ends, to which may be sent specialists on the particular matter under consideration. There is a certain plausibility in this objection; but the advantages of a regular organization, which would develop an orderly procedure, study systematically and connectedly the great problems of common interest and have a certain proportion of its members reappointed for several sessions, are so great as far and away to overbalance any advantages that might come from the supposed superior expert service in the special congresses. Furthermore, a regular congress would be sure to draw into its membership enough persons of expert character to deal by committees with any questions before it, just as is done in our national parliaments. The objection that special international congresses will continue to be better than a regular and permanent one runs in the face of all history. The tendency of all the institutions of civilization is to permanence and regularity. The late Lord Chief Justice Russell of Great Britain, in an able address some years ago before the American Bar Association, took the ground that special tribunals of arbitration were better than a permanent one. But the hundred distinguished men who composed the Conference at The Hague, following more closely the lessons of history, were all against his opinion and gave us the permanent court of arbitration. All the reasons advanced in behalf of a permanent court, to take the place of *ad hoc* tribunals, hold for a regular congress as against special ones.

Let me say, as a final word, that this Association, of all others, ought to interest itself in the project of a stated congress as an efficient instrument for securing in the most effective way the ends for which the Association was created and has done its work, namely, the formulation and reform of international law.

Opening Address of Edward Spalikowski, President of the Committee on Organization of the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress.

There are moments when, without appearing chauvinistic, one thinks himself happy in being a citizen of this or that city. Some glory in having seen the light at Paris or at London; others are proud of living in New York or Berlin. As for myself, I am contented with being simply a citizen of Rouen. My reason for this is, Ladies and Gentlemen, because this day marks for the descendants of the Northmen the commencement of a new era still more glorious than the preceding.

Rouen, a magic city for artists and dreamers, — Rouen, thrice blessed because of her situation, her monuments and her history, — seemed to be asleep in the obscurity of the Middle Ages. After having known the intoxication of bloody victories, the triumphs of brute force, her children were living especially upon her past. To-day it is their wish to add a new chapter to her annals. Too much blood had flowed in her half-obscure streets, too many conflagrations kindled by war had lighted up the walls of her churches. There was still wanting in the rich ornaments of the ducal crowns of our abbeys the humble olive branch. You, my dear colleagues, are to intertwine this symbolic leaf among the trefoils and quinquefoils of our graceful columned arches. Rouen had fêted Rollo, had honored Corneille, the savage admirer of the Roman sword, immortalized in the bronze statue, "*Corse aux cheveux plats*," which stands a few steps from here, and had wept over the lot of her sons who had died for the country, whose commemorative columns rise here and there about us. Now it is you, loved masters of the cause of peace, whom she honors; and you also, dear sisters, Sévérine and Robinson, Flammarion, Pognon, Carlier, and Bodin, precious auxiliaries before whom we bow with the respect due to your nobleness of heart.

I feel it my duty still further, as we are entering upon our important deliberations, to address a special greeting to our venerable apostles all present here beside me, who at the same time are taking part here in the triumph of the work for which they have given more than their efforts — I mean life itself. Let me name the Baroness von Suttner, Messrs. Frédéric Passy, Elie Ducommun, Hodgson Pratt, Trueblood, Moscheles, Darby, Houzeau de Lehaie, La Fontaine and Moneta. You have carried on the struggle by both word and pen in each of your countries. The pages which you have written, in which generosity abounds and overflows, have been read and pondered over by people who considered not whether you were Austrian, Swiss, Danish, French, English, Belgian, or Italian. Since your names are grouped together in the minds of your disciples, it is fitting that at this moment we render to you all the same tribute of gratitude and admiration.

You have come together, Ladies and Gentlemen, without doubt, to labor in the common cause of human brotherhood, but attracted likewise by the renown of the ancient capital of Normandy. You were right in this. There was wanting only your presence to cause the disappearance of the last legends and the dissipation of the last misunderstandings. You come to disseminate among the mass of our people the new ideas which make cities more prosperous through the enlargement of the spirit of the inhabitants. You have believed that under the vaults where formerly arose the pæans of victory and cries of hatred against the foreigner, ought to rise a harmonious note in which the voices of the representatives of the nations which were only yesterday enemies should unite in singing with us a hymn to Fraternity.

In your meanderings about old Rouen you will see on the walls of our edifices traces of the revolutions of the past, barbarous mutilations and numberless defacements in the rich stone traceries which shadow the façades of our mysterious old churches. Alas! the hand of man has too often aided the sickle of time. But do not stop before these distressing sights. Regard, rather, in the ancient buildings which still stand, the ruddy and joyous children whose babble cheers the dark appartments, and who will grow up to continue our holy task of peace-making under the ægis of a humanitarian republic, such as has been pictured by the eminent artist who designed the posters announcing this Congress.

Welcome, then, friends from the north, from the east or from the south; you who, forgetting that countries have frontiers, have come to sit down here among us, to prove to us that it is not chimerical to think of arbitra-

tion and of disarmament. Have we not, furthermore, just had the friendly visits of his Majesty Edward VII. and of President Emile Loubet? Are we not on the eve of that of King Victor Emmanuel III. to Paris? Have we not likewise here among us his Highness Prince Albert of Monaco, the Mæcenas of science and of peace, and Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant, the admirable promoter of that cordial friendship which will finally bring about a durable and guaranteed peace among the nations?

Next Sunday the Minister of Commerce, in turn, at our fêtes at Havre, will declare that the time has come when commerce and industry, supported by science and peace, will be able henceforth to receive their proper development, and dispense to the world the treasures promised to man.

Now what city could rejoice over the triumph of the idea of peace more than Rouen, this busy hive of labor around which other colonies of workmen have come and grouped themselves, carrying comfort and well-being all along the silver flood of the Seine. It is through peace that Rouen has been able to realize her proper development. It is through peace also that the United States of Europe will one day rival the United States of America in the greater happiness of their citizens.

It is also through the support of the laboring classes that we are assured of success in this cause. Among our adherents we have had the pleasure of reading the names of groups of workmen, of syndicates, of coöperative societies, of labor exchanges, of numbers of chambers of commerce, which have recently given their support to the project of Mr. Barclay.

At the present moment there is in the thinking and acting world a great expectation, almost a painful suspense. "What is the future to be?" murmurs Europe.

The future? The future belongs to us! The future will be as we make it. I am one of those who believe that the hammer of the smith has already broken the sword of the soldier; that soon muskets will no longer be of any service, except at the parades of official fêtes. Where formerly decisive battles were fought, grow and ripen together wheat and bluets. To-morrow, on the emplacement where now rise bastions and redoubts, the working man, eager for repose, pure air and liberty after the week of toil, will conduct his brave wife in order to pluck there, without fear of gloomy days to come, the flowers of the field and the kiss of love. Let this kiss be the image of the symbolic kiss which labor and peace are to give to each other before blessing the world with prosperity.

In conclusion, let me suggest to you a motto for all men of goodwill: "Down with arms and up with hearts!"

The Anglo-French Arbitration Treaty.

Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant in "Le Matin" of October 20.

Mr. Clemenceau is not easy to satisfy; that is well known. It is not strange that he finds the new Franco-English Treaty incomplete, since this treaty contains many reserves. But is this a reason for denouncing it as a bit of "hypocrisy" and a "mystification"? I shall not be suspected of partiality toward Mr. Delcassé. I have been reproached, on the contrary, for harassing him as long as he took part in the boycott with which the great powers of Europe have tried to injure their work at The Hague. I can, then, to-day frankly do him justice, and I must congratulate him, since the convention signed at London has as its explicit object the support of the menaced institution.

But this institution is only a germ, an embryo of justice. Mr. Clemenceau wishes something better. So do I. But to reach this, one must begin at the beginning and learn how to wait. Mr. Clemenceau has great intelligence and great courage, but he has never known how to wait. May I be permitted to tell him that that is the secret of his deceptions? He wants complete results or nothing at all. Temporizations, transactions of a partial nature, displease him. In the society of the future which he pictures, men will know neither childhood nor weakness nor ignorance. They will be born full grown, intelligent and strong citizens. There will be harvests of wheat before the blade begins to grow. Oaks a hundred feet high will spring up at a single bound from the acorn. So the new international justice — in spite of our traditions, our misunderstandings, our distrusts, in spite of the inequality of development of the so-called civilized nations — must be organized in completeness at once as if by magic!

If I may be permitted to say so, the demands of Mr. Clemenceau seem to me much more naïve than the credulity of the friends of peace of which he makes sport. This credulity is a form of creative initiative and of creative patience; the rest is only a negative illusion.

"You recognize, do you not," it will be said to me, "that the Hague Court is called to judge only such disputes as are relatively insignificant?" To this I reply that disputes are always disputes. Insignificant or not, they always as they multiply embitter the relations of two countries; and if diplomacy cannot settle them, why allow them to accumulate? This certainly, it seems to me, ought not to be done.

It is true that if "honor" or "independence" or "vital interests" are found to be at stake, arbitration is not considered for the present a possible solution. But how can one expect that two peoples, in the present moral state of society, will, with their eyes closed, submit from day to day, on all imaginable questions, to the judgments of a court which will be recognized only after the lapse of time and which has not yet even had the opportunity to prove its worth? Such a result you will not obtain even from the most insignificant people, and all that we can expect is that these limitations will be interpreted in a more and more generous way; and this will depend more upon public opinion than upon the governments.

It is further true that even in cases in which the governments, animated by a sincere spirit of conciliation, should forget these limitations and submit all their disputes without exception to arbitration, no material sanction would compel the one against which the award was pronounced to comply with it. No physical force could be employed against it. No international police would have authority to compel a powerful state to accept an adverse judgment. That is evident. We do not even know how to prevent the Sultan from violating his solemn engagements, from pillaging and massacring under our eyes those of his subjects whom Europe is pledged to protect. Is that a reason for being discouraged and for doing nothing? No. It is an additional motive for our making every effort to find some means, imperfect though

it may be, of escaping little by little from the desperate situation.

I cannot indeed see what sophism can be justly employed to ridicule, and if possible paralyze this attempt. It is natural, of course, that Mr. Rochefort, Mr. de Cassagnac, Mr. Millevoye, Mr. Drumont, should find the turn in our politics toward a peace which is profitable to the republic very bad. But Mr. Clemenceau sincerely desires peace. Now he who desires an end desires the means of obtaining it. After so many years of grave and dreadful misunderstandings, why reproach the French and English governments with an effort to come to an agreement with a view to ameliorating the situation even to a small extent? Would it not be better to urge them at all events to the habitual practice of arbitration? Would it not be better to accept limitations which will pass away in time, to prepare public opinion to exercise its role of moderator? Would it not be better to be contented with sanctions which are moral, it is true, but more and more efficacious, because a state condemned by the Arbitration Court would not be able to appeal to arms without provoking an uprising of conscience not only universal (for which it might care nothing), but even national? There is nothing Utopian in these expectations. They are in accord with progress, which cannot fail finally to dominate international as well as social relations.

After saying this, let us briefly notice the Cambon-Lansdowne-Delcassé Treaty. When the French Parliamentary International Arbitration Group was organized on the 26th of March last, it put these words at the head of its program:

"The government which shall hesitate to execute its engagements shall be compelled to take account of our efforts and finally change its attitude. We shall see an end of this scandal of an International Arbitration Court publicly and solemnly opened by the desire of all, but in reality closed by the tacit reversal of the purposes of these same governments."

Now to-day, the 20th of October, the greater number of the European governments, following the example of the United States and Mexico, recognize the Hague Court, and are deciding to refer some of their controversies to its jurisdiction. It may well be said that this slow advancement is not the end. This is true, but it is nevertheless great progress, and it is the only progress which could reasonably have been expected. It is our right and duty to take account of it. Public opinion will demand further progress. We shall take care that public opinion is properly informed, and the governments will continue to obey its demands, provided that it is not arrested in its efforts by objections and railleries which, under pretext of respect for ideal perfection, will only serve to encourage the indifference, the skepticism, and the resistance of the governments.

The Vienna Conference of the Interparliamentary Peace Union.

The conferences of the Interparliamentary Peace Union, held annually or biennially, are always nowadays considered important international events. They bring together for the discussion of the problems of international justice and friendship many of the most intelligent and progressive statesmen from the different parliaments, and their conclusions have large influence with the governments to whom they are communicated.

From the somewhat meagre accounts which have reached us of the recent Conference of the Union (September 7–9) at Vienna, the meeting seems to have been a very successful one. The questions dealt with were important practical ones, which demand the immediate attention of the governments. Among the subjects discussed were arbitral clauses in commercial treaties, good offices, neutrality, reduction of armaments and obligatory arbitration. The principal resolutions passed were: that all new commercial treaties should contain arbitral clauses; that no state should decline or consider as an unfriendly act a tender of good offices, as Great Britain had declined that of the United States in the case of the Boer war; that the question of disarmament which had failed of settlement at the Hague Conference should be submitted at the earliest possible opportunity to a new international congress of representatives of the great powers; and that the territory of Scandinavia should be declared neutral.

The resolution in favor of a congress on reduction of armaments was warmly supported and adopted by a large majority.

At the opening sitting of the Conference, which was held in the Lower House of the Reichsrath, the Austrian Premier, in welcoming the members in the name of the Austrian government, made a most remarkable speech, which illustrates clearly the advanced position which is now being taken on the subject of pacific relations between nations by many government leaders. The Premier, Dr. Von Koerber, said in substance that wars which aimed simply at the ruthless seizure of territory were no longer approved by the present generation; that the supreme heads of states were the best advocates of peace; that it was a noble-minded monarch who had proposed the Peace Conference at The Hague. He declared that the mission of those who held power was not only to guard the honor of their own people, but also to avoid wounding the honor of other peoples; that the causes of war due to the special characteristics of peoples and the disparity of interests of different states were growing daily less and less. It was a characteristic symptom of the present time that small states had never enjoyed so much security. He himself believed that this fact was due to the respect which was paid to their independence, and not simply to their position as buffers between the great powers. Whichever it was, the fact was a complete proof of the love of peace entertained by the great powers. Peace was necessary to them for the advancement of human progress. The Austrian monarchy, he said, had ever been an empire of peace. It had never begun war from lust of territory or conquest, or drawn the sword except when challenged. It was ruled by a sovereign whose fame as an advocate of peace was everywhere proclaimed, whose wise counsel all gladly followed. The Austrian empire was not to be judged by its domestic differences, the outcome of its internal structure, but by its love of peace, in which the first rank among the friends of peace must be conceded it.

At the close of its three days of meetings a farewell banquet was given the delegates by the Premier, who again declared that the value of peace was recognized

by the nations as a condition of the free development of human activity. It was the sacred mission of the peace society to wage a campaign for pacific conquests, *a mission which was arousing more and more enthusiasm throughout the world.* His closing sentences were: "We must work unceasingly in peace for peace, so that peace may become unassailable, and thus uphold a common life among the nations. I raise my glass to the success of the peace society."

The Union decided to hold its next conference at St. Louis on condition, we understand, that it receive an assurance of welcome from the United States government or from Congress.

The Proceedings of the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress.

The twelfth Universal Peace Congress opened at Rouen, France, in the Council Chamber of the City Hall, on September 22, at half past nine o'clock. When the meeting was called to order the Chamber was well filled with delegates from the societies of different countries, the number of members enrolled, including adherents, increasing to about five hundred before the close of the Congress.

On and in front of the platform were seen an unusual number of the veterans of the peace movement,— Frederic Passy, Hodgson Pratt, Baroness von Suttner, Elie Ducommun of the Berne Peace Bureau, Dr. Adolf Richter and Alfred H. Fried from Germany, E. T. Moneta from Italy, General Türr from Hungary, Dr. W. E. Darby, Ellen Robinson, Wm. P. Byles, M. P., and Mrs. Byles, Dr. G. B. Clark, Henry J. Wilson, M. P., G. H. Perris, J. Fred. Green, J. G. Alexander and Felix Moscheles from England, Emile Arnaud, Gaston Moch, Maria Pognon and Madame Sévérine from France, J. Novicow from Russia, Houzeau de Lehaie and H. La Fontaine from Belgium. There were many comparatively new men and women in the audience, some of whom proved to be among the strongest members of the Congress.

The Congress was opened by Mr. Edouard Spalikowski, editor of *Le Républicain Rouennais*, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, in a remarkably fine address, which we are glad to give our readers in full on another page.

Mr. de Raïssac, General Secretary of the Prefecture of the Department (Seine-Inférieure) in the absence from the city of the Prefect, welcomed the delegates to the Department and assured them of his warmest sympathy.

Mr. Robert, first assistant of the Mayor, in a neat little speech welcomed the members of the Congress to Rouen. The task which the peace workers had taken upon themselves was, he said, among the noblest of all. Rouen was proud to have been chosen as the seat of the Congress. Republican France was rightly chosen as the place of holding the Congress, on account of the noble propaganda going on within her borders in favor of the substitution of law for force. They all hoped that the twentieth century, in its very opening, would see completely realized this important reform, the settlement of international controversies by arbitration. It was a serious matter, in face of nations which respect only forts, as President Loubet recently said, for a people to lead the way in this matter without sacrificing its security. What people would do it? Was it from the progress of science, the multiplication of congresses, out of which a larger *entente* among peoples of different languages was to arise, that the realization of this magnificent ideal was to come? It was difficult to say. But the happy consummation would, at any rate, be hastened by the deliberations of the Congress there gathered, the members of which had come together inspired by the noble and wise purposes which have led the peace societies to labor in a cause essentially humanitarian and democratic. "With a warm heart" he wished all the delegates welcome to the city.

Responses were made to these addresses of welcome by representatives from the different countries from which delegates had come.

Prince Albert of Monaco, in whose principality the previous Congress had been held, declared himself proud of the place which had been given him in the peace congresses. The scientific work to which he had devoted himself demanded the triumph of the cause of peace over the cruel heritage transmitted by the primitive barbarism, over the war spirit which poisons the fruits of civilization. He was happy to aid in the contest against the old prejudices cherished by men, contrary to the laws of nature; in the exaltation of justice and truth which unite men most widely divergent in their origin and characteristics; in the increase of the light which will drive out the tyranny of falsehood and of ignorance. "Those noble institutions, the Court of Arbitration, the Interparliamentary Conference, the Permanent Peace Bureau, all the international associations which are making for themselves an ever larger place in human affairs, are bringing the germ of a social and moral transformation which the scourge of war cannot resist."

Dr. Adolf Richter of Pforzheim, President of the General German Peace Society, responding for the German delegates, heartily thanked the city of Rouen and the government of France for the sympathetic reception which had been given to the delegates. The old Norman capital had once been invaded by the English, but the present invasion of British and other foreigners was not warlike. They came with the olive branch in their hands, and were not to be feared. They were the apostles of universal peace. He hoped that before long Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant would bring to Berlin the same crusade which he had recently carried to London. They must not despair; it was the moment for courage. The victory would not long delay. Truth and justice were marching on toward arbitration and peace, and nothing could arrest their progress.

The Baroness von Suttner, who had recently lost her husband, on rising to respond for Austria, was received with strong demonstrations of appreciation and sympathy. She declared that the partisans of peace in Austria had recently had great success, through the meeting of the Interparliamentary Conference at Vienna. There was no restriction now in Austria on utterances in favor of the principle of arbitration. Arbitration had, in fact, now become a governmental program. She gave honor to the French advocates of peace for the manner in which they had led in the cause. Prime Minister Combes had recently declared himself a partisan of

arbitration. President Loubet had manifested his sentiments by accepting the honorary presidency of the Congress. She gave voice to the horror felt by all the friends of peace over the events now taking place in the Balkans, and their condemnation of the insensate action of the governments in keeping up the rivalry of armaments. The cause of peace, however, was making progress, and "our incessant propaganda will ere long draw the peoples of the world after us."

Senator Houzeau de Lehaie responded for Belgium. His little country had in the past been caught, as it were, between the hammer and the anvil, and had been subject to the vicissitudes of European wars. It had been different since the country was neutralized, and the majority of the Belgians, for whom he spoke, were genuine friends of peace.

Benjamin F. Trueblood, in responding for the delegates from the United States and giving the greetings of the American peace workers, called attention to the valuable contributions which the United States had made to the cause of arbitration and international friendship during the past year. The United States and Mexico, on the initiative of the former, had referred the Pious Fund case to the Hague Court, and thus had set an example to the world and put into effective operation the permanent international tribunal. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, among his other benefactions, had given the sum of $1,500,000 for the erection of a suitable building for the Hague Court, and thus had done much to secure its permanence and to promote the further extension and application of the principle of arbitration. At the time of the unfortunate Venezuela incident the government of the United States had thrown the weight of its influence in favor of the pacific adjustment of the matters at issue, and President Roosevelt and Minister Bowen had finally succeeded in securing the adjudication of the claims against Venezuela by mixed commissions, and the reference of the question of the preferential treatment of the blockading powers to the permanent court at The Hague. President Roosevelt had greatly honored himself in declining to arbitrate the question himself, as invited to do, and in insisting upon its reference to the permanent international tribunal. The fourth of the important contributions to the cause of peace made in the United States the past year was the movement inaugurated at Boston, through the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts, in favor of a regular international advisory congress. He recounted the facts of the movement, the unanimous action of the Massachusetts Legislature in petitioning the Congress of the United States to authorize the President to invite the governments of the world to unite in creating, in whatever way they might judge expedient, a regular international congress, to meet at stated periods, to study the questions of common international interest and to make recommendations thereon to the governments; and stated that the suggestion had met with a large amount of public favor wherever it had become known and properly understood. He hoped that what he had said would not be considered as uttered in the spirit of "patriotic" boastfulness, though the important events set forth were cause for real gratification. He appreciated, as did all his American coworkers, the splendid work done for the cause of arbitration and peace in France and other countries, and felt that the time had come when all true patriots, all true friends of humanity, should glory in what was done in other countries for civilization as well as in what was done in their own country.

Mr. Hodgson Pratt responded for Great Britain in a speech which was warmly applauded. After pointing out the remarkable progress of the peace movement in recent years, he made appreciative reference to the interchange of friendly visits by King Edward and President Loubet, to the rôle of pioneer in the peace cause which France had taken, and to the extremely valuable coöperation of the workingmen who had recently entered the ranks of the peace workers. He prophesied that when all working men became convinced of the uselessness and horribleness of war, the governments would be powerless, whatever might be their desire, to prevent the coming of universal peace.

General Türr presented the greetings of Hungary, and spoke at some length on the Macedonian and Bulgarian massacres, severely arraigned the "armed peace" of Europe, and made a strong appeal to women to use their utmost efforts to put an end to horrible war which takes from them their husbands, their brothers and their children.

Mr. E. T. Moneta, the veteran Italian peace leader, spoke hopefully of the new humanity which the propaganda of the peacemakers was creating; said that he expected much from the coming visit of Victor Emmanuel to Paris, and of President Loubet to Rome; and made the encouraging statement that in Italy at the present time friendship for France was becoming practically universal.

Mr. Gaston Moch in a few sentences gave the Congress the greetings of the peace workers in the Principality of Monaco, as did Mr. Brouwer those of Holland.

J. Novicow of Odessa, one of the most distinguished economists of Europe, long connected with the peace movement, said that he spoke in the name of one hundred and thirty millions of mutes, as in his country neither speech nor the press had ever been free. But the day when the Russian people should be able to speak their opinion, the whole country would come over to the ranks of peace.

The last of the responses was by Elie Ducommun, secretary of the International Peace Bureau, who last year was one of the two recipients of the Nobel Peace prize. Bringing the salutations of the friends of peace in Switzerland, he declared that the whole of his country was on the side of peace; that arbitration had been inaugurated in Helvetia nearly five hundred years ago, when the provinces of the little country were divided by differences of race and language; that the cantons had come to live together in liberty and peace; and that what had been possible for the provinces of Switzerland was possible for the whole world.

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONGRESS.

The Congress then proceeded to organize by the election to the presidency of Mr. Emile Arnaud, president of the International League of Peace and Liberty. Frédéric Passy was chosen honorary president. Messrs. Spalikowski and Follin were chosen vice-presidents, Mr. Elie Ducommun general secretary, and Messrs. Allégret and Gouet assistant secretaries. One vice-presi-

dent was also appointed for each of the countries represented in the Congress. On the nomination of B. F. Trueblood, Edwin D. Mead of Boston was appointed vice-president for the United States. Madame Maria Pognon expressed regret that nobody had thought of naming a lady as a member of the Bureau. There were women of Rouen and of Havre present who would be in no wise out of place by the side of the gentlemen named. On her motion Madame Lebail of Havre was elected a member of the Bureau, and later in the Congress Madame Flammarion also.

On the suggestion of the president, the following telegram was sent to President Loubet:

"The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress hereby respectfully conveys to you the expression of its gratitude for your pacific action and for the great interest which you have shown in its work by accepting the position of honorary vice-president."

The Congress also sent to Mr. Combes, President of the Council of Ministers, the following telegram:

"The Twelfth Peace Congress respectfully conveys to you its gratitude for the formal adhesion which you have given in the name of the French Republic to the policy of initiative in favor of arbitration and peace, and for the proof of its interest which the government has given to this great international assembly by having itself officially represented at Rouen and at Havre."

Madame Sévérine, in a few eloquent words, recalled the action of President Roosevelt in the Venezuela affair as it had been given in the remarks of Dr. Trueblood, and proposed that a telegram of felicitation be sent to him. Her suggestion was enthusiastically accepted, and the following telegram prepared and sent:

"*President of the Republic of the United States, Washington:*

"The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress, after having heard through the delegates from the United States of your generous initiative in favor of the tribunal at The Hague, respectfully conveys to you the expression of its profound gratitude."

REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU.

The annual report of the Peace Bureau on the events of the year relating to the subject of peace was then read by the secretary, Mr. Ducommun. This able report, which is too long to be given here in full, dealt in a very forcible and interesting way with such subjects as the Pious Fund Arbitration, the Japanese House Tax Case, the Venezuelan Incident, the Macedonian Question, the Far Eastern Russo-Japanese Trouble, etc.

THE COMMISSIONS.

Three Commissions were then named to prepare the business for the Congress, one on Questions of Actuality (A), one on Questions of Legislation (B) and the other on Propaganda (C). As far as possible one delegate from each country was placed on each of these Commissions. From the United States, B. F. Trueblood was placed on the Legislation Commission, Professor J. C. Bracq on that on Questions of Actuality, and the Countess di Brazza (and later Mrs. Mead succeeding her) on the Propaganda Commission. These Commissions met during the afternoon and began their labors, which continued daily during nearly the whole of the Congress and proved to be very arduous. The serious work of the Congress was really done in the committee rooms.

RECEPTION BY THE MUNICIPALITY.

In the evening a grand reception was given the members of the Congress at the City Hall by the municipality. During the course of the evening Mr. Robert, on behalf of the city, made a brief speech, in which he welcomed the delegates and wished their work great success. Responses were made by Mr. Arnaud, president of the Congress, and by Mr. Passy, whose remarks, conceived in his usual prophetic vein, were received with the greatest attention and interest.

SECOND DAYS' PROCEEDINGS.

The forenoon of Wednesday was taken up by meetings of the Commissions, and by the annual meeting of the International Peace Bureau. At noon the members of the Congress went on an excursion to Moulineaux, accompanied by the mayor of Moulineaux. They breakfasted together in the Forest. Afterwards they gathered about the monument *Mobile*, where Mr. Spalikowski made an address, and Frédéric Passy recited a short original poem, "The Two Harvests."

The second session of the Congress met at 5 o'clock P. M., in the Hôtel des Sociétés Savantes, where all the subsequent sessions, except the last, were held. The president communicated to the meeting a large number of letters and telegrams of greeting from various individuals and societies, among others from the Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament, from the French Educational League, and from various labor organizations.

The discussions of this session were devoted to the report of Commission A, on the questions of Armenia and Venezuela. The report from the Commission on the subject of Armenia was presented by Pierre Quillard, director of the journal *Pro Armenia*, in a very able discourse, in which the whole situation in Armenia and Macedonia was set forth. After some discussion, taken part in by Madame Sévérine, Georges Bodereau, and Mr. Jouet, the following resolutions were unanimously and enthusiastically adopted:

RESOLUTIONS ON THE ARMENIAN QUESTION.

"The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress, renewing the wishes expressed by the Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh Congresses,

"Notes with satisfaction the action taken, on the initiative of the Eleventh Congress, by England, France and Russia in multiplying consular agents in Armenia.

"But it is of the opinion that though this measure may prevent or delay to a certain degree wholesale massacres, it will not be sufficient to save the whole people from slow and progressive extermination.

"Convinced that the reforms and fundamental guarantees demanded by the Armenians may be realized without any injury to the territorial integrity of Turkey, and that it is of interest to the Turkish populations themselves to take part in this work of reform;

"Referring to Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin, by which Europe assumed the right and took upon itself the obligation to assure to the Armenian populations life, security, liberty of travel, peaceable possession of property and liberty of conscience;

"The Congress declares that it is time, for the honor of Europe and the welfare of humanity, that this article should have a full and faithful application.

"The Congress invites the civilized governments and peoples to take action as soon as possible, in accordance with the memorandum of 1895, by a joint intervention to put an end to a state of things which is intolerable and perilous to the general peace of the world.

"The Congress expresses its gratitude to Mesdames Carlier and Meyrier because of the efforts made by them in favor of Armenia, and also to the editorial staff of 'Pro Armenia' and to its editor-in-chief, Mr. Pierre Guillard."

A report from Commission A on Venezuela was then briefly presented by Mr. Le Foyer. This gave rise to an

extended and very interesting discussion, regarding the Hague Court, etc., which was taken part in by Messrs. Hubbard, Jouet, Dumas, Moch, Le Foyer, Arnaud and Trueblood. The following resolutions were then unanimously voted:

RESOLUTIONS ON THE VENEZUELAN INCIDENT.

"The Congress, without entering into an examination of the claims of the European powers, and without passing judgment upon the dilatory methods employed by Venezuela,

"Recalling the fundamental principle of justice, that no one can be a judge in his own case,

"Deplores the acts of hostility committed against Venezuela by the German and English naval forces,

"And is of the opinion that the destruction of private and public property gives ground for an indemnity from the powers and for a reduction in their credits.

"On the other hand, the Congress is happy to note that the Venezuelan difficulties, which at first led to military action, were soon put in the way of solution by means of diplomacy and arbitration.

"It renders homage to the United States for its intervention, and particularly to Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bowen.

"It is especially glad that a part of the controversy has been referred to the Hague Court."

WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL OF WOMEN.

The International Council of Women was represented in the Congress by the Countess di Brazza, delegate from the American National Council. Having to leave the Congress, she was asked to speak at the end of this session. After calling attention to what the Council was doing in support of arbitration, she explained in an impassioned address, a system of peace education of children, to which she and others were devoting themselves, by means of pictures, colors, etc. The subject elicited a good deal of sympathy in the audience, and Frédéric Passy, Madame Sévérine and Maria Pognon expressed their cordial approval of the method set forth by the Countess.

RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE ROUEN PEACE SOCIETY.

In the evening a reception was given to the delegates in one of the halls of the Hôtel des Sociétés Savantes by the members of the Rouen Peace Society. It was a very pleasant affair. Speeches were made by Messrs. Spalikowski, Passy, Arnaud and Novicow, and by Madame Sévérine, the lady journalist, whose power of ready and effective speech made her a favorite on all festive occasions.

THE THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The Congress met on Thursday morning, at half past nine o'clock.

On the proposition of Hodgson Pratt, supported by Commission A, the following resolution regarding the South African war was adopted:

As regards the annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, by Great Britain, the Congress considers it an imperative duty to declare that annexation by violence is always contrary to the fundamental principles of international justice.

A copy of this resolution shall be addressed to the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of all the civilized nations.

A report on the Macedonian question was then submitted by Commission A, through Mr. Jouet, who portrayed the wretched condition of the Balkans in a speech of much force. The discussion on the resolutions offered by him was participated in by Mr. Novicow, J. G. Alexander, Dr. G. B. Clark, Mr. Bodereau, Mr. Moneta, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Arnaud, Mr. Lariey, Mr. Fox-Bourne of the Aborigines Protective Society, and Mr. Anderson (colored) of Philadelphia. We have rarely seen a finer display of the sense of justice and human rights than in this discussion, which lasted until noon. The following resolutions were voted at the close of the discussion:

Whereas, the European powers, in Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin, have pledged themselves jointly to secure from the Turkish government the needed reforms among the mixed populations of his European provinces; and

Whereas, it is their imperative duty to stop the shedding of blood;

The Congress addresses an urgent appeal to the civilized nations, and especially to the powers signatory of the Berlin treaty, to put an end, by common action, to the extermination which is going on.

The members of the Congress furthermore pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavors to see that this appeal to the powers is heard by the governments.

The Congress recalls, furthermore, the fact that the Treaty of San Stefano adopted as its basis the principle of the right of peoples freely to dispose of themselves.

At the close of the session a letter was read from Mr. Leroy Dupré, of the Society for the Protection of Natives, asking in favor of the natives of the colonies the same manifestation of interest as in favor of the inhabitants of civilized countries. The sentiments of the letter were warmly applauded.

LUNCHEON AT BONSECOURS.

Most of the members of the Congress went at noon on an excursion to Bonsecours, where there is a fine monument to Joan of Arc. They lunched together in the *Restaurant du Cygne*, where the usual postprandial speeches ended the program.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION.

At the opening of the afternoon session the following telegram from Mr. Combes, President of the French Cabinet, was read:

To the Prefect, Rouen: Mr. Emile Arnaud, president, has transmitted to me a message of felicitation and of devotion to the government voted by the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress. I pray you to express to him the warmest thanks of the government, which has been deeply touched by this manifestation.

Several other communications to the Congress were read, among which was a telegram from Baron Pirquet of Austria. This telegram led to the adoption of the following resolution, offered by the Baroness von Suttner:

The Congress unites fully with the Eleventh Interparliamentary Conference held at Vienna in the wish that a new intergovernmental conference may be held, to take up again the question of an arrest of armaments, as officially suggested by the Hague Conference.

THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT.

The remainder of the afternoon was devoted to the subject of disarmament. The subject was handled in a most direct, courageous and practical way, and the debate on it, in which some twenty of the leading members of the Congress took part, was one of the finest we have ever heard in a peace congress or anywhere else.

On the proposition of Mr. Hubbard, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, a resolution was adopted which urged that a motion should be introduced into the different parliaments inviting the governments to provide for a reduction in their next war budgets and to enter into agreement on the subject with other governments.

Mr. Houzeau de Lehaie, a member of the Belgian Chamber, proposed, as a supplement to the resolution of

Baroness von Suttner, a proposition, which was adopted, that the Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of Controversies should be henceforth declared open, and that any power might adhere to it without condition.

After these preliminary propositions were disposed of, the report of the Commission A on the subject of a Truce of Armaments, introduced by Mr. Felix Moscheles, was taken up. The report was discussed by W. P. Byles, M. P., B. F. Trueblood (who called the attention of the Congress to the step in disarmament already taken by Chile and the Argentine Republic), G. H. Perris, J. Novicow, Baron St. George Armstrong, Mr. Hubbard, Dr. G. B. Clark, M. P., E. T. Moneta, Rev. M. Anderson, Edwin D. Mead, J. F. Green, Mr. Tabouriech, Miss Ellen Robinson and the Countess de Lorrmel, the two latter having been commissioned by societies representing many thousands of working people to support any propositions of disarmament which might be brought forward.

The resolutions proposed by the Commission were then adopted unanimously, as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ON THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS.

The Congress is convinced that the time has come when the peace societies should bring to the front in their propaganda the question of an international truce of armaments. During the past year the waste of the public resources occasioned by the fruitless rivalry of the great powers has assumed unheard-of proportions, and has been seriously criticised by advanced statesmen in France, in Great Britain, in Germany and the United States. The Congress has heard, with great satisfaction, of the wise and courageous declarations of Mr. Jaurès, Mr. d'Estournelles de Constant, and other members of the French Chamber in the course of the memorable debates from the 19th to the 29th of January last.

The Congress reminds the peace societies and their friends throughout the world of the following resolutions voted by the Hague Conference:

"The Conference considers that a reduction of the military burdens which weigh upon the world at the present time is very desirable, for the increase of the material welfare of humanity. The Conference expresses the wish that the governments, taking account of the propositions made in the Conference, may take into consideration the possibility of an agreement concerning a limitation of the armed forces on land and sea and of the military budgets."

The Congress invites the friends of peace in all countries to urge upon their governments that they take up, without delay, the consideration of this question; and that they take measures for the calling of a new international conference with the aim of bringing about a truce of armaments and their final reduction.

As a means toward this end, the Congress proposes to the International Peace Institute to collect all valuable documents treating of the most efficacious manner of bringing about an arrest of armaments, and of military and naval expenses, in order that, on the basis of these documents, a practical project may be drawn up and submitted to the powers represented in the Permanent Court at The Hague.

Dr. Clark, after calling attention to the partial disarmament and reduction of budgets which had for some time been going on in Italy, moved that the Congress invite President Loubet to take the initiative in a negotiation among the governments with a view to reduction of armaments. The following resolution was adopted and telegraphed to Mr. Loubet:

The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress respectfully prays Mr. Emile Loubet, President of the French Republic, to use his great personal influence toward the early opening of negotiations among the governments with a view to the reduction of armaments.

It having been pointed out by Mr. Hubbard that President Loubet could not, according to the French Constitution, take the initiative in such a negotiation, the following resolution was adopted and telegraphed to Mr. Combes, President of the French Ministry:

The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress respectfully prays the government of the French Republic to take upon itself the glorious initiative in a negotiation among the governments with the view of a general and simultaneous reduction of armaments.

The following resolution, introduced by Mr. Tabouriech, was also adopted:

The Congress expresses the wish that the advocates of peace in each country may support all measures looking toward a reduction of the time of military service.

RECEPTION BY THE LABOR BOURSE.

In the evening a reception was given to the members of the Congress by the Labor Bourse of Rouen. This meeting was a large and most effective one. Several hundred laboring men attended and showed the deepest and most appreciative interest in all the proceedings. Every expression of disapproval of war and of the great armaments now existing was cheered to the echo. Short addresses were made by Frédéric Passy, Mr. Feldhaus of Germany, Mr. Le Foyer, Mr. Hubbard, J. Fred. Green, of London, Mr. Giretti of Italy, the Baroness von Suttner (who was received "with thunders of applause," said one of the dailies), Mr. Novicow, Madame Sévérine, Madame Pognon, and Mr. Allégret, a delegate from the Christian Peace Society of Havre. "What a beautiful and good festival of fraternity it was," said the "Dépêche de Rouen." "It was the commingling of languages and nationalities. One saw there English, Germans, Austrians, Belgians, Russians, Americans, Italians, who brought the greetings of the workingmen of their countries to those of France. It was also the regeneration of hearts and the true fraternity of races, for Mr. and Mrs. Anderson of Philadelphia told of the sufferings of the black race so long persecuted. It was also a veritable festival of reconciliation of classes, for the Austrian patrician, Baroness von Suttner, the Countess de Limay, Baron Armstrong, and others representing the old privileged classes, touched elbows with the modest working people of Rouen, and the representatives of the Socialist working classes of England."

LAST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

At the opening of Friday morning's session Lucia Ames Mead called the attention of the members of the Congress to the condition of the Bloch Museum of War and Peace at Lucerne, which she had recently visited and inspected. The Museum she had found far from what it ought to be. There were large sections of it still unutilized. The display of war instruments was much more conspicuous than the peace exhibit. She felt that in its present condition the Museum was not fully meeting the wishes of its founder, and she called upon all the friends of peace to do what they could to supply the material still wanting to make it an effective agency of peace propaganda.

The first business taken up after Mrs. Mead's remarks, and the reading of several letters and telegrams of greeting, was a report from Commission A, presented by Mr. Novicow, on the subject of a *rapprochement* between France and Germany. This subject had been introduced to the Congress by the Franco-German League

of Munich, which proposed that the practical means of bringing about a better understanding between the two countries should be studied. The subject gave rise to a very spirited discussion in the Commission, and it was soon discovered that the *statu quo*, suggested by some members as a basis of reconciliation, was objectionable to others. The following resolution was therefore agreed upon in Committee and voted by the Congress after brief discussion:

Whereas, A *rapprochement* between France and Germany is greatly to be desired;

Whereas, Such a *rapprochement* is necessary for the successful organization and maintenance of a durable peace;

Whereas, Such a *rapprochement* necessitates the pacific solution of every controversy that exists or may arise between the two countries;

The Twelfth International Peace Congress puts upon the program of the next Congress, which will be held outside of the interested countries, the question of the best means of reaching this solution and this *rapprochement*, and charges the Berne Bureau to make a preliminary study of the subject.

A communication from the International Peace Bureau was read by Mr. Ducommun, the secretary, giving information as to the progress which had been made in the study which the Bureau had been asked to make of the various differences existing between nations, out of which serious conflicts are liable to arise. The Congress expressed its sincere thanks to Mr. Ducommun for his most earnest and efficient services.

The Congress then took up a report from the Commission on International Law on the subject of Free Trade, which had been put on the program. The report was made by Mr. Houzeau de Lehaie of Belgium, and gave rise to an earnest discussion of some length, in which caution was given against extreme action on the subject, as many protectionists are warm friends of peace. The speakers were Mr. Giretti from Italy, Mr. G. H. Perris, Dr. G. B. Clark, Mr. Frédéric Passy, Mr. Dumas, Mr. Houzeau de Lehaie and Mr. Raqueni. The resolutions proposed by the Commission were, after slight changes, adopted, and were as follows:

Whereas, Previous Congresses have expressed wishes in favor of free trade;

Whereas, Individuals, after paying taxes for the public services, ought to be considered to have fulfilled their obligations to the political community to which they belong; and, whereas, when this obligation is fulfilled, the right to freely exchange their services with other members of the society of civilized nations, without any interference from the political community, arises from the principle of the inviolability of the human personality, proclaimed by several peace congresses, which carries with it the right to the free disposal of the fruits of human labor;

Whereas, The removal of internal customs barriers has been one of the greatest factors in national unification and pacification, and would necessarily be the same in international unification and pacification; and, whereas, if the effort to adjust international disputes is a good thing, the production of an international condition which will prevent them is better;

The Congress congratulates the Free Trade Associations on their efforts, which cannot but be helpful to the cause of peace, and calls upon all the friends of peace to aid them in obtaining the gradual and simultaneous reduction of protective tariffs by international agreements.

The Peace Congress, in order to bring these societies into closer relations with itself, invites them to send delegates to it, conformably to Article I. of its statutes.

On motion of Mr. Giretti of Italy a vote of sympathy for those in England now engaged in the effort to maintain free trade was passed, and on motion of Mr. Raquerie one recommending the formation of parliamentary free trade groups. The following resolution proposed by the International Law Commission was then enthusiastically voted:

Whereas, It is of great importance that recourse to the Hague Arbitration Court be made easy for the different states,

The Congress expresses its gratitude to Mr. Carnegie for the gift which he has made, and its hope that other benefactions will be made sufficient to cover the permanent expenses of all recourse to the Court.

At this point, Mr. Adeline, general secretary of the International Federation of Employees, who had just arrived, presented to the Congress an address from the second international congress of the Federation, expressing hearty approval of the mission of the Congress, and pleading for arbitration and general disarmament.

Mr. Spalikowski was then called to the chair, and Mr. Arnaud presented a report from the International Law Commission on the subject of the *Droit de la Paix* (the Law of Peace), the chief point of which was that through the Hague Conventions international law has now passed into the domain of positive law. The resolutions presented by Mr. Arnaud and unanimously adopted were as follows:

Whereas, Conventions become law for the parties thereto;

Whereas, In the absence of a legislative body, international law arises from conventions;

Whereas, Article 48 of the intergovernmental Convention of The Hague for the pacific settlement of international disputes presumes an appeal by the arbitrators to the law of nations;

Whereas, The preamble of the intergovernmental Convention of The Hague on the laws and customs of war on land imposes on the nations respect for "the principles of international law, as derived from established usages among civilized nations, from the laws of humanity and the demands of public conscience;"

The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress notes with great satisfaction that these conventions, voted unanimously by the plenipotentiaries of twenty-six states, signed and ratified, consequently having become the law of their signatories, have brought international law in a formal manner into the domain of positive law;

That all the principles resulting at once from the established usages of nations, from the laws of humanity and the demands of public conscience, are now established by convention among the majority of the civilized states, and hence are a part of positive law, and that usages contrary to the laws of humanity and the demands of public conscience are set aside;

Declares that it is most important to codify as early as possible the principles in question, that is, the laws which from now on are to govern international society, and to teach them.

To this end, the Congress appeals (1) to all professors of international law, praying them to teach the law of peace, and, as here pointed out, to demonstrate in their teaching the indisputable existence of international law of a positive character; (2) to the parliamentary peace groups, inviting them to introduce into their respective parliaments a motion calling for the nomination of an international commission, charged with the elaboration of a draft of the principles and rules of the law of nations, conformable to the needs and aspirations of the society of civilized nations with its growing consciousness and solidarity.

On motion of Mr. Hubbard, it was voted that the parliamentary groups be invited to introduce the motion suggested by Mr. Arnaud, as far as possible, on the same day, say the 18th of May.

THE LAST SESSION.

The last session of the Congress was opened in the City Hall at 2 o'clock.

A resolution was presented by Senator La Fontaine from the International Law Commission on the subject

of legitmate self-defense, with an attempt at definition of the circumstances in which a nation may exercise this right. The subject had given rise to a long discussion in committee, the minority taking the ground that the subject did not come within the scope of the work of a peace congress. The English and the American delegations were practically solidly united in opposition to the taking up of the subject. After Mr. La Fontaine's report, the previous question was moved by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, and he was supported by B. F. Trueblood and others. After a lengthy discussion, in which Mr. Gaston Moch, the author of the proposition, Mr. Moneta, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Sabbatier and others took part, a motion to postpone the subject to a future European congress was carried by a good majority.

The following resolution from the International Law Commission was introduced by G. H. Perris, and after a brief discussion by Dr. W. E. Darby and Mr. Thomas Snape, was adopted with but two votes in opposition:

The Congress, noting with satisfaction the success of the propaganda in favor of a Franco-English *entente*, expresses the wish that future supplementary agreements between the states signatory of the Hague Peace Convention may conform to the following conditions:

(1) They shall be extended to questions not covered in the Hague Convention.

(2) They shall have the character of arbitration conventions and not alone of conciliation.

(3) They shall, as far as possible, be of a permanent and obligatory character.

(4) The recourse to arbitration provided for by them shall be to the Hague Court alone.

The following propositions, originating with Professor Merignac, reported from the International Law Commission by Senator La Fontaine, were also adopted without opposition:

The principle of the freedom of the air is recognized to be necessary, as well as that of the freedom of the sea.

The Congress invites the Commission on Legislation to study and fix the limitations to be given to the application of this principle.

The Congress invites to this subject the special attention of the committee on codification which may eventually be appointed by the governments to codify the laws of peace.

The governments signatory of the Hague declaration of 1899, forbidding for a period of five years "the throwing of projectiles and explosives from balloons or in other new analogous ways," are urgently requested to renew this declaration, the force of which will expire at the end of July, 1904.

This resolution shall be transmitted to the different governments, and the Congress invites the members of the different parliaments to call the attention of their respective governments to the renewal of the declaration.

The Congress then adopted a series of resolutions, reported by Mr. Ruyssen from the Commission on Propaganda, recommending the holding of national peace congresses each year, as preparatory to and in aid of the work of the International Congress.

On the motion of Maria Pognon, the following was adopted:

The Twelfth Universal Peace Congress congratulates the women of New Zealand, Australia and the States of Wyoming and Colorado, etc., on having acquired the right to vote, and expresses the hope that they will give their votes only to candidates having in their program international peace through arbitration.

The Congress further voted in approval of the idea of an international postage stamp, of the creation of a propaganda fund, against the bearing of arms by soldiers in time of peace, in favor of propaganda by means of periodical peace posters, inviting ministers of religion not to associate any act of worship, prayer, preaching or singing with murderous enterprises, and in favor of the adoption of the 18th of May as a universal peace festival.

THE PEACE CONGRESS NEXT YEAR.

The American delegation, supported in their invitation by the names of more than fifty prominent men and women of the United States, Andrew D. White, Andrew Carnegie, Hon. John W. Foster, Hon. George F. Edmunds, Hon. William I. Buchanan, George Foster Peabody, Albert K. Smiley, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore, Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, and others, extended an invitation to the Congress to hold its session next year in the United States at some time during the St. Louis Exposition, the place and date later to be agreed upon. After remarks on the subject by B. F. Trueblood, Professor Bracq of Vassar College and Mr. Anderson of Philadelphia, setting forth the importance of the occasion in the United States next year, the Congress voted unanimously and enthusiastically in favor of the acceptance of the invitation.

APPEAL TO THE NATIONS.

The secretary of the Peace Bureau, Mr. Ducommun, then presented an Appeal to the Nations, similar to that which has been annually sent out by the Congress. It is as follows:

Our work has now become so extended that the peace movement will henceforth embrace all the nations of the world. We are convinced that it is possible in our day to extend the reign of law over the entire globe. During the latter half of the Nineteenth Century security was established over the whole surface of the ocean. Piracy has been suppressed and ships may now go and come freely over the remotest seas.

Our ancestors did not know the globe throughout its entire extent. They had, doubtless, some reason to fear continually that savages and barbarians might come forth from the mysterious regions of the earth, and spread death throughout the civilized lands. The international anarchy and the profound misery which would result from such invasions presented themselves to the mind as disasters as terrible as storms. Perceiving no possibility of putting an end to the evils which afflicted them, our ancestors declared that the earth was a vale of tears, and that the happiness of the people as a whole was a utopia.

Being at the present time able to look at things from a diametrically opposite point of view, we can boldly affirm that happiness is not only possible but even easy of realization. Savagery has been almost eliminated, barbarism overcome, and international anarchy no longer exists except at the will of the civilized nations. Their disunion alone creates misery. Let this disunion disappear, and the reign of law will establish itself everywhere, and the wealth of the nations, increasing prodigiously, will become great enough to suffice for the welfare of all.

It was vain to hope for the establishment of international order so long as savagery and barbarism were in the ascendency. But it is no longer vain; it is entirely legitimate to hope for it, now that the domination of the globe belongs in fact to eight or nine great civilized nations. Happiness, then, is now possible, and our miseries may be brought to an immediate end. If we only will it, this can be accomplished to-morrow.

Feeling the force of these impressions, the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress, met at Rouen from the 22d to the 25th of September, 1903, has voted a number of resolutions upon international questions which have directly in view the future security of the peoples of the world.

As a result of mature deliberation among the delegates of peace societies belonging to a large number of countries of Europe and America, it has also formulated conclusions and adopted resolutions touching fundamental principles upon

the most important events of the politics of the day, from the point of view of the demands of justice and humanity.

Feeling that it has had a high duty to fulfill, it has occupied itself with the events which have taken place or are taking place in South Africa, Armenia, Macedonia and elsewhere.

It has shown the possibility of creating friendly relations between nations hitherto divided. Finally it has laid the practical basis for the definitive establishment of institutions of a juridic order, which will in the near future assure peace on earth and the welfare of the families of the earth.

It hopes that its appeal will be heard by all those who have at heart the salvation of the nations, through the establishment of peace, as the condition of a better future.

For the Twelfth Universal Peace Congress,

EMILE ARNAUD, *President*,
ELIE DUCOMMUN, *Secretary*.

This appeal was approved, and after votes of thanks to the President, to the Rouen Peace Society, and to the city and people of Rouen, the Congress was declared closed.

CLOSING BANQUET.

In the evening members of the Congress to the number of two hundred took part in a banquet at the Château-Baubet, Isle Lacroix. After a magnificent dinner, speeches in glorification of peace, in praise of the French peace workers, etc., were indulged in till well towards midnight. Mr. Eugène Fosse, Prefect of the Department, presided, and speeches were made by the Prince of Monaco, by Mr. Spalikowski, chairman of the Committee on Organization, Mr. Robert, vice-mayor of Rouen, Mr. Allégret and Mr. Follin from Hâvre, the Baroness von Suttner, Mr. Frédéric Passy (who wore the red necklace of "Commander of the Legion of Honor," with which he had been recently decorated by the French government), Mr. Arnaud, Mr. Novicow, Mr. Moneta, Mr. Houzeau de Lehaie, Mr. M. Vasseur, Mr. Halley, Madame Sévérine and others. Most of the speakers laid emphasis on the great gain which the cause of peace has made, and the great hope which may be cherished of the speedy and complete triumph of the cause.

EXCURSION TO HAVRE AND RECEPTION BY THE CITY AUTHORITIES.

On Saturday morning after the close of the Congress a large number of the delegates went on an excursion down the Seine to Hâvre. The day was a delightful one and the trip much enjoyed. At Hâvre a reception was given to the excursionists by Mr. Jules Siegfried, Deputy and Ex-Minister, at his villa at Ingouville, and a banquet by the Municipality. On Sunday afternoon a great meeting was held in one of the large halls, which was attended by two thousand people. This was organized by the Christian young men of Hâvre and was a great success, addresses being given by several of the leading members of the Congress, among whom was Edwin D. Mead from this country.

The Twenty-first Conference of the International Law Association.

The International Law Association, which was founded in 1873 through the efforts of Dr. James B. Miles, at that time secretary of the American Peace Society, has grown to be one of the most important bodies dealing with international questions. The Association has at the present time a membership of nearly four hundred, among whom are a number of the most distinguished lawyers, statesmen and publicists of the civilized nations. The Association has already held, in the thirty years of its existence, twenty conferences, and has discussed many of the questions which indirectly as well as directly have to do with the extension and further development of law in the mutual relations of the nations.

The Twenty-first Conference of the Association was held at Antwerp, Belgium, from the 29th of September to the 2d of October. About one hundred members of the Association attended. They came from England, Scotland, Belgium, Denmark, France, Spain, Germany, Italy and the United States. Among the more distinguished were Auguste Beernaert, Ex-President of the Belgian Chamber of Deputies, Baron Lambermont of Belgium, the distinguished statesman and arbitrator, Sir Walter Phillimore and Sir William Kennedy of the British High Court of Justice, Mr. Louis Franck of Antwerp, Dr. Paul Govare of Paris, Mr. Gray Hill, President of the English Law Society, Senator Marcoartu of Madrid, Dr. C. Noble Gregory, Dean of the Iowa University Law School, Mr. Cephas Brainerd of New York, Senator Picard of Brussels, Dr. Martin, President of the High Hanseatic Court, Hamburg, etc.

The members of the Conference were received by the municipal authorities of Antwerp in the reception room of the City Hall, at ten o'clock on Tuesday. Mr. Desguin, on behalf of the burgomaster and the aldermen and councillors of the city, in a brief and interesting speech bade the members of the Conference welcome. He declared that the commercial city of Antwerp took an enormous interest in questions of international law. Since this law extended across all frontiers, united all peoples and established rules which applied to periods of peace and of war alike, he felt that the development of international law tended to the establishment of universal justice and harmony, and believed that the time would come when justice would dominate the relations of nations.

Sir Walter Phillimore, president of the Administrative Council of the Association, expressed the thanks of the members for the hearty welcome which had been extended to them and the interest shown in the work of the Association by the city authorities.

The first session of the Conference was then held in the council room of the City Hall. Mr. Beernaert was chosen president, and Baron Lambermont honorary president. A vice-president was named from each of the countries represented, Dean Gregory of Iowa being chosen for the United States. J. G. Alexander and G. G. Phillimore from London, secretaries of the Association, were chosen secretaries with two assistants.

Mr. Beernaert, on opening the Conference, delivered a most interesting address. He mentioned a number of distingnished members of the Association who had passed away. He recalled the fact that Dr. Miles, when he made his visit to Europe, found in Belgium a warm reception for his ideas, and that it was at Brussels that the Association was organized in 1873. One of the purposes of the Association was the codification of the law of nations, but they had found that it was necessary first to do something for the creation of the law itself. The Association had opened a tribune for all sorts of economic and juridic questions interesting humanity and related to the progress of international law. After mentioning a large number of these questions, he spoke

especially of the enthusiasm with which the Association had taken up the question of the solution of international differences by arbitration. He reminded his hearers of the great progress which this principle had made in thirty years. Arbitration had already entered into the practice of the nations; a tribunal had been organized at The Hague, and great nations were already resorting to it. Public opinion was beginning to demand treaties of obligatory arbitration. All the states of the three Americas had at Mexico City signed a treaty of adherence to the Hague Convention. All the American states were demanding entrance into the Hague Convention. He asserted that throughout the entire world public opinion was with the friends of arbitration and peace. In spite of the tendencies to disunity created by national self-love and pride, a beneficent wave of justice, good understanding and peace was passing over the world. Numerous international agreements, postal unions, unions for the protection of artistic and literary property, etc., were bringing the nations nearer together. Under these new conditions, what government, he asked, would dare to assume the responsibility of going to war? The thought of the disasters of a great war would compel public opinion to rise up against it.

After the address of Mr. Beernaert, Dr. W. Evans Darby, secretary of the Peace Society, London, was called upon and read a paper of remarkable interest on the development of international arbitration within the three years of the present century.

At the close of this address the Conference was adjourned, and the members went on an excursion down the Scheldt River on a boat which had been provided them by the city administration. An elegant luncheon was served on board. The weather was superb, and after four hours of lunching, talking and breathing the delicious air, the members returned for an afternoon session at five.

SECOND SESSION.

The second session of the Conference and all the subsequent sessions were held at the Cercle Artistique. The paper read by Dr. Darby at the close of the morning session gave rise to an extended and animated discussion touching the extent to which the principle of arbitration may be applied in the settlement of international difficulties, which was participated in by Sir William Kennedy, Mr. Thomas Snape, B. F. Trueblood and others. Some of the speakers took the ground that practically all international differences could be settled by arbitration; others, that it was yet capable of only limited application.

During the discussion the project of Dr. Thomas Barclay of an Anglo-French General Arbitration Treaty, providing only for French and English arbitrators, was approved by some of the members but severely criticised by others, as it had been in Dr. Darby's paper, because it ignored and, if it should ever come into force, would seriously impair the Hague Court, which France and England had helped to set up. The following resolution on the subject was then adopted:

"The Conference renews the following declaration made by the eminent statesmen, jurists and philanthropists who founded this Association at Brussels in 1873:

"'The Conference declares that it regards arbitration as a means essentially just, reasonable and even obligatory for the nations, of settling international differences which cannot be adjusted by negotiation. It abstains from declaring that in all cases without exception this means can be applied; but it believes that the exceptions are rare, and is convinced that no difference ought to be considered insoluble except after a clear statement of the grievances and a reasonable delay.'

"The Conference rejoices that the number of cases of arbitration successfully adjusted have continually increased in number and importance during the thirty years which have passed since that time, and from this it is convinced that the result completely justifies this affirmation. It notes with satisfaction that since its last meeting the Hague Convention has been brought into force by the institution of an arbitral tribunal now in regular operation. It hopes that the other powers signatory of the Convention will follow the example of the United States and Mexico, and submit to the Hague Court the disputes which may arise between them."

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The second day's proceedings were opened at ten o'clock. Mr. Hubbard, a French Deputy and lawyer, communicated to the Conference the action of the Peace Congress at Rouen in taking steps to secure the introduction simultaneously into the various parliaments of resolutions in favor of a reduction of armaments. This subject, as well as that of general arbitration, would be thoroughly examined by the French Parliament, as a proposition to this effect was already before the French Chamber.

B. F. Trueblood was then called upon and read a paper on the subject of "A Regular International Advisory Congress," in its special relation to the subject of international law. This address was listened to with great attention, and was favorably received by the Conference. It is given in full on another page of this issue.

Sir Walter Phillimore, of the British High Court of Justice, then read a paper on "The Desirability of the British Government taking part in the Legal Conferences at The Hague on Private International Law." Mr. Phillimore severely criticised the British government for having abstained from the three conferences which had been held. His opinion was shared by the speakers who followed him, a number of members of the Conference, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Carver, Mr. Gray Hill, Mr. Miller and others from England and other countries, urging that the English Ministry should modify its attitude on this subject; and a resolution was adopted asking the Executive Council of the Association to submit to the British government the considérations brought forward in the report of Mr. Phillimore.

The next paper was by Prof. Charles Noble Gregory, of the Iowa University Law Faculty, on "Jurisdiction over Foreign Ships in Territorial Waters." Dr. Gregory gave only a summary of his paper, mentioning a number of instances showing the difference in the practice of the different governments in the matter. The whole paper, which was a very able one, will be printed in the proceedings of the Conference.

The next subject taken up was the report of the Belgian Committee on "The Execution of Foreign Judgments," an extremely technical and complex subject, which was introduced by Mr. Georges Marais, an advocate in the Court of Appeal of Paris. At the conclusion of Mr. Marais's address the Conference adjourned, and the members attended a "breakfast" in the salon of the restaurant at the Zoölogical Gardens. This "breakfast" was offered to the members of the Conference by Mr. Beernaert, the president, and proved to be a most elegant and sumptuous banquet.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

At the afternoon session the question of the execution of foreign judgments, as presented by Mr. Marais, was again taken up. A long discussion ensued, participated in by Mr. De Leval, Legal Advisor of the British Embassy at Brussels, Mr. Fox-Sinclair of London, Mr. Govare of Paris, Mr. Franck of Belgium, Mr. Lachau of Paris, Sir Walter Phillimore, and others. The debate brought out the character of the Anglo-Belgian Treaty on foreign judgments and the necessity of a general international agreement on the subject.

The subject of "General Average" was next taken up. The subject had to do with the loss of goods on the sea, the fault of captains, etc. The discussion, participated in by Dr. Charles Stubbs, Mr. Maeterlinck of Belgium, Mr. Carver of London, and others, was a very long and technical one in which our readers would not be interested.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The morning session of the third day's proceedings was devoted to a further discussion of the subject of "General Average," which was animated and was participated in by a number of the most prominent jurists in the Conference. The rest of the day was devoted to the discussion of the subject of "Company Law" in its international aspects, or "The Creation and Responsibility of Limited Liability Companies." Papers were read by Mr. Hamilton, a London barrister; Mr. Corbiau, Professor at the University of Louvain; by Dr. Schirrmeister, of the Berlin Bar; and others, which were too voluminous to read, were presented to be printed in the report of the proceedings. After some discussion the subject was sent over for further consideration to the next meeting of the Conference, and a special commission was appointed to study the subject in the meantime and prepare a definite project thereon.

In the evening a banquet was given to the members of the Association by the Belgian Committee for the Unification of Maritime Law, an association composed of the most distinguished men of commerce, etc., in Belgium. The banquet was given in the large hall of the Cercle Artistique. After the dinner addresses were made by Mr. Beernaert, the president, by Sir William Kennedy, by Mr. Marais of Paris, by Mr. Franck, and others. The address of Justice Kennedy was a most admirable one, giving expression to the high ideals of international justice and harmony which are being worked out by such organizations as the International Law Association.

THE CLOSING SESSION.

The closing session on Friday morning was devoted to the report of the Executive Council and other final business. A paper prepared by Mr. LeRoy Parker of the Buffalo Bar, on the subject of an "International Agreement for the Treatment of Anarchism," was presented, but in the absence of the author was only read by title. Senator Marcoartu of Madrid called up the subject of a regular international congress and made a speech of considerable length in favor of a regular international parliament. Votes of thanks were extended to the president, to the municipal authorities of Antwerp, and to the Belgian Committee for their services in entertaining the Conference and making its meetings a success.

The report of the proceedings will be published in full at an early date, and will make a valuable addition to the literature of international law.

A New Sermon.

BY J. A. EDGERTON.

I come to preach on the text of love
From the gospel of brotherhood;
To help if I may in finding a way
That leads to the higher good;
To picture the light that is shining bright
On the Future's upturned face,
And to whisper a hope whose breadth and scope
Is as wide as the human race.

It is this: the hour is almost here
When the races shall rise as one,
And shall all join hands from the thousand lands
That are kissed by a common sun;
When the cannon's roar shall be heard no more
And the war flags shall be furled;
When the lily-white banner of peace shall float
O'er a union of all the world.

For God is weary of war and hate,
And the time has come at last
For the race to wake and the chains to break
That bind it unto the past;
To list to the Christ who died for men,
And to hearken unto the call
Of the voice of the common divinity
That stirs in the hearts of all.

Across the morn of the century,
In visions I turn my gaze
To the heights sublime that the race shall climb
To better and grander days.
As earth whirls on from dawn to dawn
Through the seasons that are to be,
There is some sweet day that is on its way
When the whole world shall be free.

There are glimpses of glory in Paradise,
But they all are not so bright
As our own dear earth will be, if we
Can open the reign of right;
If we, as brothers, will love each other,
And work as best we can
In the glorious labor of lifting our neighbor
And helping our fellow man.

Pamphlets Received.

SUBMARINE TELEGRAPHIC CABLES IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. Lectures delivered at the Naval War College, by Prof. George Grafton Wilson, Ph. D., of Brown University, Providence, R. I.

INSURGENCY. Lectures delivered at the Naval War College, by Prof. George Grafton Wilson.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE (BRITISH) PEACE SOCIETY FOR 1902-3. London: 47 New Broad Street, E. C.

OPINIONS CONCERNING VIVISECTION AND DISSECTION IN SCHOOLS. The American Humane Association, Chicago.

THE RISE OF THE VIVISECTION CONTROVERSY. By Albert Leffingwell M. D. The American Humane Association, Chicago.

THE GOSPEL OF EMERSON, FOR HIS TIME AND OURS. By Edward Everett Hale. The last address in the Emerson Celebration. Boston: South End Industrial School Press.

DIE NEUE CULTUR UND DIE WARENZELLE. With a preface by the Baroness von Suttner. An open letter to His Majesty the Czar of Russia. By Jul. H. West, Berlin: Franz Siemenroth, 2 W. Dennewitz Strasse.

Form of Bequest.

I hereby give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, Boston, a corporation established under the laws of the State of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be employed by the Directors of said Society for the promotion of the cause of peace.

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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

ARTICLE I. This Society shall be designated the "AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY."

ART. II. This Society, being founded on the principle that all war is contrary to the spirit of the gospel, shall have for its object to illustrate the inconsistency of war with Christianity, to show its baleful influence on all the great interests of mankind, and to devise means for insuring universal and permanent peace.

ART. III. Persons of every Christian denomination desirous of promoting peace on earth and goodwill towards men may become members of this Society.

ART. IV. Every annual subscriber of two dollars shall be a member of this Society.

ART. V. The payment of twenty dollars at one time shall constitute any person a Life-member.

ART. VI. The chairman of each corresponding committee, the officers and delegates of every auxiliary contributing to the funds of this Society, and every minister of the gospel who preaches once a year on the subject of peace, and takes up a collection in behalf of the cause, shall be entitled to the privileges of regular members.

ART. VII. All contributors shall be entitled within the year to one-half the amount of their contributions in the publications of the Society.

ART. VIII. The Officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor and a Board of Directors, consisting of not less than twenty members of the Society, including the President, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be ex-officio members of the Board. All Officers shall hold their offices until their successors are appointed, and the Board of Directors shall have power to fill vacancies in any office of the Society. There shall be an Executive Committee of seven, consisting of the President, Secretary and five Directors to be chosen by the Board, which Committee shall, subject to the Board of Directors, have the entire control of the executive and financial affairs of the Society. Meetings of the Board of Directors or the Executive Committee may be called by the President, the Secretary, or two members of such body. The Society or the Board of Directors may invite persons of well-known legal ability to act as Honorary Counsel.

ART. IX. The Society shall hold an annual meeting at such time and place as the Board of Directors may appoint, to receive their own and the Treasurer's report, to choose officers, and transact such other business as may come before them.

ART. X. The object of this Society shall never be changed; but the Constitution may in other respects be altered, on recommendation of the Executive Committee, or of any ten members of the Society, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at any regular meeting.

Publications of the American Peace Society.

A Regular International Advisory Congress. — By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D. A paper read before the Twenty-first Conference of the International Law Association, Antwerp, Belgium, September 30, 1903. Price 5 cts. each, or $2.00 per hundred, prepaid.

War Unnecessary and Unchristian.—By AugustineJones, LL. B. New edition, 20 pages. 5 cts. each, $2.00 per hundred.

Dymond's Essay on War. — With an introduction by John Bright. Sent free on receipt of 5 cts. for postage.

Nationalism and Internationalism, or Mankind One Body.— By George Dana Boardman, D.D., LL.D. New edition. Price 5 cts. each, or $2.00 per hundred, prepaid.

The Hague Court in the Pious Fund Arbitration. — Address of Hon. William L. Penfield, Solicitor of the State Department, at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, May 28, 1903.

The Historic Development of the Peace Idea.— By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D. 32 pages. Price 5 cts. each. $2.50 per hundred.

War from the Christian Point of View.— By Ernest Howard Crosby. Address at the Episcopal Church Congress at Providence, R. I., November, 1900. 12 pages. $1.50 per hundred, prepaid.

The Coming Reform — A Woman's Word. — By Mary Elizabeth Blake. New edition, 12 pages. $1.50 per hundred.

The Nation's Responsibility for Peace.—By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL.D. Price 5 cts., or $2.00 per hundred, prepaid.

The Mexican International American Conference and Arbitration. — By Hon. William I. Buchanan. Address delivered before the American Peace Society, Boston, April 15, 1902. 23 pages. Price 5 cts., prepaid.

The Absurdities of Militarism.— By Ernest Howard Crosby. Address delivered at the Commemoration meeting held in Tremont Temple, Boston, January 16, 1901. 12 pages. Price $1.50 per hundred.

An Essay toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe.— By William Penn. First published in 1693. 24 pages, with cover. Price 6 cts., or $3.00 per hundred, prepaid.

A Permanent Tribunal of Arbitration. — By Edward Everett Hale, D.D. Price 5 cts. each; $2.00 per hundred, prepaid.

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